The Messenger

WORLD'S GREATEST NEGRO MONTHLY

FEBRUARY, 1926

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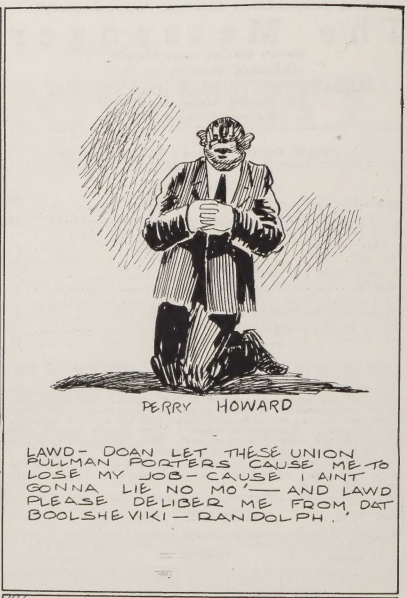
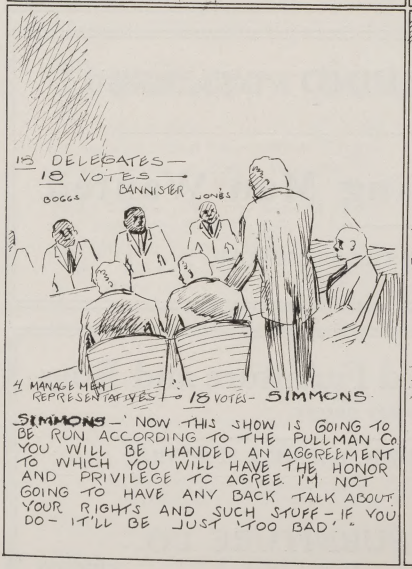

PERRY HOWARD
LAWD- DOAN LET THESE UNION PULLMAN PORTERS 'CAUSE ME TO LOSE MY JOB- CAUSE I AINT GONNA LIE NO MO'— AND LAWD PLEASE DELIBER ME FROM DAT BOOLSHEVIKI — RANDOLPH.


13 DELEGATES— 18 VOTES—
BOGGS
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JONES
4 MANAGEMENT REPRESENTATIVES — 18 VOTES- SIMMONS
SIMMONS- 'NOW THIS SHOW IS GOING TO BE RUN ACCORDING TO THE PULLMAN Co YOU WILL BE HANDED AN AGGREEMENT TO WHICH YOU WILL HAVE THE HONOR AND PRIVILEGE TO AGREE I'M NOT GOING TO HAVE ANY BACK TALK ABOUT YOUR RIGHTS AND SUCH STUFF- IF YOU DO- IT'LL BE JUST 'TOO BAD'.'

UNCLE TOM AND STOOL PIDGEON DEPT. OF THE PULLMAN CO
PERRY PARKER

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

WHEN ORGANIZED

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was organized August 25th, 1925, New York City, N. Y.

WHO ORGANIZED IT?

As a result of a speech by the writer at the Pullman Porters' Athletic Association on organization, the porters of New York were aroused. Immediately thereafter Mr. W. H. Des Verney interviewed the writer on the matter of organizing the porters. He called a meeting at his home at which Messrs Roy Lancaster, at the time, recently discharged, A. L. Totten and the writer, attended. The question of organization was discussed and the grievances of the porters told the writer. Upon the facts received in that conference an article was written in The Messenger magazine on the Case of the Pullman Porter. It aroused the porters throughout the country. It was followed up with another, more comprehensive.

After the second article appeared, a mass meeting for Pullman porters was called, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was organized. As a result of that move an intensive organization campaign was launched and branches were established in Washington, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo., and Omaha, Neb.

Opposition immediately arose from some of the Negro papers and leaders who were bought up by the Pullman Company. In Chicago the fight was bitterest but with the able support of R. L. Mays, noted Negro Labor leader, Chandler Owen, Chief Editorial writer of the Chicago Bee; C. Francis Stratford, Prominent young lawyer of Chicago; M. P. Webster, Organizer of the Chicago Division; George A. Price, Local Secretary Treasurer, and W. L. Berry, Field Agent, the Brotherhood went over the top with colors flying. A large number of colored women's clubs of Chicago, as a result of the splendid cooperation of Mrs. Irene B. Gaines and Mrs. Naola Smith, gave their moral support to the Brotherhood.

Why the Writer Was Selected to Lead the Brotherhood

First, because of his long advocacy of the cause of organized labor; second, because of the fact he was not a porter and hence had nothing to fear from the Pullman Company. Besides he was the editor of The Messenger magazine, which could be used to spread the propaganda of organization. No man in the employ of the Company could organize the porters as shown by the discharge of men who were merely suspected of trying to organize them.

The right of employees to select any one they desire to represent them, whether working for their employer or not, is recognized by the U. S. Railroad Labor Board in decision No. 218 (Docket 404).

It reads: "The Labor Board also holds that the employees may vote for representatives who are not employees of the carrier, if they so desire, just as the carrier may select a representative who is neither a director or a stockholder."

WHY ORGANIZED

Wages

1. To get a living wage.

(a) The present wage is $67.50 a month. It is graduated upward over a period of 20 or 30 years, to $90.00.

Preparatory Time

2. Pay for preparatory time.

(a) By preparatory time is meant time spent in making ready the car and receiving passengers before the departure of the train.

(b) Example: A porter leaving New York at 12:30 midnight for Washington, D. C., reports for duty at 7:30 P. M. Although he works five (5) hours for the Company preparing the car to depart, his time does not begin until the train leaves the terminal station. Upon a basis of his monthly wage of $67.50, he receives 25 cents an hour. Thus five hours spent in preparatory time represents $1.25 which the Company deprives the porter of every time he makes this trip. A porter on this run makes the trip twelve times a month, which means that he enriches the Company at his expense to the extent of $15.00. Over a period of a year this represents a loss of $180. This is quite an item to a worker whose yearly wage is only $810, or, according to the U. S. Department of Labor, $1,278 below the income which is required of the average family in order to live according to a decent American standard. A porter running out of Omaha, reports for duty at 3 P. M. and works until 2:30 A. M. the next morning before his train departs, or his time or wages begins. When it is considered that this is being done by thousands of porters throughout the country, it is easy to estimate what a great profit the Company derives out of this practice.

3. Conductor's pay for conductor's work.

(a) There are what is known as "in charge" porters or porters who do conductor's work and porter's, too. "In charge" porters are in complete charge of the car. They do the same clerical work of a regular conductor. But they only receive $10.00 additional pay for said work. Therefore, on each "in charge" porter, the Company saves $145 a month, since the minimum conductor's pay is $155 a month. The rule is that when a porter has two cars, he should get the minimum conductor's pay, but the custom is that when there are two cars to be handled, a conductor is there to take charge. The conductor's union protects them to this extent. There are several thousand "in charge" porters in the service. But estimating on only one thousand, it is clear what a great advantage the Company reaps by paying them only $10.00 additional instead of the minimum conductor's pay, $155. On one thousand such porters the Company saves $145,000 every month or $1,740,000 every year.

HOURS

Delayed Arrivals

4. Pay for delayed arrivals.

(a) At present the average porter's train may be late several hours every trip during the month, but he receives no pay for hours spent on duty beyond his regular scheduled hours' run because the hours he is late are required to be put in his accumulated mileage column and since he must make 11,000 miles or nearly 400 hours each month, he makes no overtime by being late.

(b) Example: A porter is running on parlor car from New York to Washington, D. C. The porter makes 13 round trips or 26 trips per month. The mileage from New York to Washington is 227 miles or 454 miles for a round trip. Now 13 round trips times the round trip mileage of 454 equals 5,902 miles.

The minimum mileage required for a porter to make

a month for $67.50 before overtime is paid, is 11,000 miles.

The specified lay-over is from the time the train is due to arrive to the time train is due out.

The rule reads: Road service performed on specified lay-over to be paid as doubles at 60 cent per 100 miles.

The porter running to Washington is due to arrive at 6 P. M. but arrives at 9 P. M., must put late arrival of three hours in accumulated mileage column. If he is three hours late at New York and Washington each trip during the month, he will be late 78 hours. Now 78 hours times 30 miles, the mileage hour rate of the train, will equal 2,340 miles. And 2,340 to 5,902, the mileage between New York and Washington, a porter makes during a month and it totals 8,242 miles. Subtract 8,242 from 11,000, the minimum mileage a porter is required to make, and the remainder is 2,758 miles, the porter is yet required to make before he is paid overtime.

(c) The Brotherhood demands 240 hours or less in regular assignment as the basis of the porter's monthly wage. This provision will regulate preparatory time, station duty and delayed arrivals.

The Pullman conductors have the 240 hour month.

DOUBLING

5. Doubling is injurious to the health of the porter. Doubling means leaving for a point immediately the porter arrives off a run, however long. It throws a regular porter out of line and he earns less.

(a) Example: A porter operating a line car between New York and Chicago. From the 1st of October to the 25th makes 5 trips with lay-over periods which expire on the 25th day. At the rate of $67.50 per month he earns $56.25. It happens, however, that on his arrival at New York, on the night of the 23d, he is required to double out to Boston on the night of the 24th, and consequently is not able to cover his run on the 25th day.

By doubling to Boston he is placed on the mileage basis and only earns $1.44, which is less than his day's pay, or 60 cents times 240. He returns from Boston in service on the night of the 25th and arrives in New York on the morning of the 26th and earns another day's pay of $2.25, which expires on the night of the 27th.

He is now out of line, and has to lay around until the 30th, when his line is due out, without pay. He then leaves New York on the 30th and arrives in Chicago on the 31st and earns $2.25, another day's pay. His total month's wages by doubling equals to $64.44. $56.25 is the pay received for time put in from Oct. 1st to 25th, $1.44 is amount received for doubling to Boston, and $6.75 for three day's put in thereafter at $2.25.

Now if he did a full month's work in regular time he would earn $67.50. But by doubling he only gets $64.44, or $3.04 less than his monthly wages. By one month's work in regular assignment, he, on a 31 day's month, covers 11,532 miles, an excess of 532 miles over the monthly mileage, a porter is required to make before he is paid for overtime. When 532 miles are multiplied by 60 cents, the rate allowed for excess mileage, one gets $3.18. Thus if the porter had stayed on his regular run, he would have earned $67.50, his monthly wage plus $3.18 for excess mileage, or $70.68. By doubling he loses the difference between what he makes, $64.44, and what he would have made if he had not doubled, $70.68, or $6.24.

CONDITIONS

6. Sleep.

(a) Example: A porter leaving Boston at 6:10 P. M., enroute to Chicago, a run of 23 hours, gets three hours sleep on the run; whereas a Pullman conductor on the same train gets off at Buffalo, a run of 11 hours, and gets four hours' sleep during that run.

(b) Porters are never assured of sleep, since they are always subject to a call by the passengers.

(c) No provision is made for the porters sleeping unless upper No. 1 is not taken. If it is taken he must steal naps in the smoking room in the glare of the lights. Nor can he take these naps until every passenger has retired.

(d) Special provision should be made for the sleep of the porters. This could be arranged through a system of relief porters.

EXTRA PORTERS

7. Extra porters are not paid if they report for duty and there is no line for them to be sent out on. This is obviously unfair. Extra porters who are required to report at the yard for duty should be paid whether they are sent out or not. They are required to report regularly or be put off the list.

REGULAR PORTERS

Regular porters who miss their line as a result of having doubled out, are not paid during the time they are lying around waiting to catch their line. This is unjust. They should be paid for this time spent waiting for their line, since they were thrown out of line accommodating the Company.

Example: If a regular porter running from New York to Chicago is doubled out from New York to Atlantic City upon his return from Chicago to New York, his home district, he will miss his line when he returns from Atlantic City to New York. Hence he must lie around for one or two days until his regular line returns. He is not paid during that time. A regular porter is only paid when he reports for duty and is not sent out if he is in a foreign district, that is, not in his home district.

SHOE POLISH

9. Porters are required to buy the polish and equipment for shining the passengers' shoes. If he does not shine their shoes, he is given 15 or 30 days on the street, and, if he shines them and requests pay for same, he is penalized. Polish and equipment should be supplied by the Company.

DOUBLING

10. Porters should receive adequate rest before they are required to double out. They should not be required to double out during their lay-overs, except where necessity of very pressing. At present, a porter running from St. Louis or Chicago to New York, is often required to double right out to Boston or to some other point, before he sees his family, gets anything to eat, freshen up himself or change his clothes. During rush periods such as holidays, he is given bad hot coffee and buns. This is palpably against the health of the porter.

MAIDS

11. Maids don't receive the same lay-overs as porters. Having the same runs, they are entitled to the same lay-overs.

SAVING PORTERS' TIME

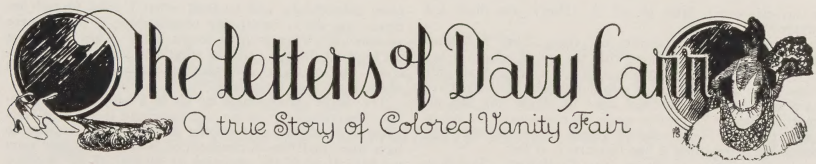
12. Whenever a porter is compelled to report for investigation, he does so on his own time. Facilities should be so provided that a minimum of time is lost, since the lay-overs of the porters are their rest periods and the time for attending to their personal business.

DEADHEADING

13. Example: A porter was assigned to a dead-head car, that is to say, a car not in line service. He carried no passengers and had no opportunity to receive tips while enroute. When assigned to the car, however, he was told by the clerk that said car was going to some other destination, to return in service. His car was cut off at some station near Rhode Island where there was no Pullman district or agency. He could not plead shortage of funds or refuse the car, because in doing so he would violate the instructions contained in his rule book and is subject to immediate dismissal for insubordination of duty.

He was held at this place three days and had no way

(*Concluded on page 61*)



Davy Reflects. What Price Happiness? Rouge and Lipstick. Cultivating Billie.

Sunday, January 21.

I think it is old Juvenal who says, "He who begets children gives pledges to fortune," or words to that effect. From all I have observed that is indeed a true saying, but, when you think it over, the establishment of every kind of human relationship is fraught with responsibilities which cannot be eluded. Very often we can decide as to whether or not we shall make this or that tie, but once it is made the matter is largely out of our hands. Once we have set up our gods, though with our own brain and hands we may have fashioned them out of the clay of the roadside, and by taking though have invested them with life, the creature becomes master, and we can no more control what it shall do. It is the age-old experience of Frankenstein over again!

Life is indeed a curious and an interesting thing. Our socalled freedom of the will seems confined, at least so it appears to me, to initiating things. Once they are initiated, they slip from our hands, and withdraw from the circle of our domination. We are continually setting up these little spheres of influence, only to have them pass from under our control. It is no wonder that certain men have tried, by resolutely avoiding the making of ties and the persistent refusal to take on responsibilities, to find a sort of negative happiness, only to discover, in their turn, that there is no such thing. Do you remember the story of Dechelette in Daudet's "Sapho"? That illustrates in part at least the point I am trying to make.

Another angle of the same question is expressed by a character in Mason's *Witness for the Defence*, who says—I cite from memory—that we can have anything in this world we want, if only we want it hard enough, but we cannot control the price we shall have to pay for it. And he might have added that we cannot, indeed, know beforehand what the price is to be, nor the time when payment will be exacted.

"Step up, gentlemen," says life, "help yourselves with both hands. Don't be stingy with yourselves. The price? Oh, let's not talk about that now. It's a small matter between friends. Only satisfy yourselves. We can talk about the rest later." And, being human, we poor fools, in our greediness, often dip in to our very elbows, and carry off what we will, without a thought of the day of reckoning. All the tenets of the gospel of thrift deprecate buying on time, but did you ever think that in the great scheme of life we are compelled to take everything by that process, and must enjoy first and pay afterward? Not only that, we must, as it were, give a signed note of hand, undated, and with the amount blank. No wonder so many human lives fo bankrupt.

These thoughts went through my mind the other night as I sat in the Rhodes' bcak parlor and waited for Thomasine to come down. We four, Caroline, Dr. King, Tommie and I, were going to the Zeta Lambda dance, and Caroline had a new rig in connection with which she had called for Tommie's assistance. A professional call had delayed the doctor, so I sat in the back parlor, and amused myself with the books of the late Mr. Rhodes. I don't suppose, in your hectic hours here, you had a chance to notice them.

I noted, among other things, standard editions of Balzac, Daudet, and Dumas, a large paper French edition of Victor Hugo, Daudet's work in French with the Leloir illustrations, the original French edition of De Maupassant, the Prothero set of Byron, one of the most satisfying editions I have ever handled, practically all of Edith Wharton's works, and the definitive English editions of Thackeray, Defoe, and Dryden. I figured casually that there were at least seven or eight hundred dollars worth of books in sets like those I have named, not to mention the hundreds of single volumes. The fact which struck me was that every set present represented the very best scholarship and was what one would call the standard or definite edition, and in the separae volumes I noted practically every one of the best English and American works of imaginative literature, both prose and verse, for the period between about 1890 and 1910. All of the books showed signs of use, the dates in those I happened to open showed that they were bought at the time of their first appearance, and the selection was an eloquent tribute to the owner's taste. No wonder Caroline, for all her occasional "jazzy" manners, has such an unusual speaking vocabulary. It must have been a liberal education to live with her father.

The whole room, in my opinion, is very satisfying to the eye. The pictures, though too many to suit the modern taste, which insists on light woodwork, expensive wallcoverings and a paucity of detached ornament, were very good, the bookcases simple and unobtrusive, and the rest of the furniture of the most comfortable description,—the last touch in "hominess" being produced by the open fireplace, the big davenport conveniently near, and the long Italian table with its two reading lamps just behind it. I have always liked this room.

It was the pitiful story of Déchelette and poor little Alice Doré, which I leafed over idly as I sat there, that started me on the train of thought set forth at the beginning of this letter. Here I am in a house whose inmates were utterly unknown to me a few weeks ago, and now my life seems in some curious fashion inextricably bound with theirs. It's that same old story over again. We initiate actions or relations, and in so doing may exercise to the full our free will, of which we are so inordinately proud, but, once the action is started or the relation entered upon, Fate steps in and takes it out of our hands. Maybe you don't agree with me in this thought, but at any rate you will have to acknowledge that there is something in it.

Here am I, having of my own free will made new relationships in this house, now suffering more or less discomfort because of them—disturbed—yes. I shall have to acknowledge it—diturbed because of the actions of an irresponsible girl whose very existence was, only a few weeks ago, a matter of the utmost indifference and unconcern to me. And such an atmosphere of unconcern I might have maintained throughout my life, if I had not allowed any new relationship to be set up between us, but I did, and now I am troubled, forsooth, because she no longer continues to do the things which at first were a source of annoyance to me. Why I should care what she does or does not do is a mystery to me, but I do.

While I sat reflecting on the uncertanties and whimsicalities of life, Caroline came in looking like a dream of almost unearthly loveliness. I really believe she grows more beautiful day by day, and surely she must be bankrupting herself buying new clothes, for she seems to have a new gown for every party. This last one was dainty beyond words, and she emreged from it—her shoulders are the superbest I ever saw—like some wonderful tropical flower. Sometimes I am almost overpowered by her beauty, and this time I was speechless.

"How do you like my new dress, Godfather? I made

it myself—every little bit of it. Don't you think it's pretty?"

I murmured some banality or other. Then I noticed what I had not seen before, that the rouge which in her case has been rather conspicuous by its absence, was quite noticeable. I do not know whether or not I should have said anything, but I did not have to decide, for her uncanny power of perception made it unnecessary for me to break the ice. She caught my glance almost before I was conscious myself that I had directed it at her.

"It's impossible to please you, Godfather. You're a perfectly merciless critic, and your eyebrows have the worst manners imaginable. If course I've got rouge on tonight. I should look a fright if I did not. I've been out six or seven night running, and I don't sleep any too well when I do get to bed, so what is a poor girl to do? You must realize that most folks are not as hypercritical as you are. Some of your very much esteemed friends use enough, Heavens knows! I should think you would be used to it by now."

The acerbity in the last words was apparent. As she talked, she stood in front of the big mirror over the mantel and looked at herself, and then looked at me from the mirror with a smile unmistakably defiant.

"I said nothing about any of my much esteemed friends, and I do not recall saying anything about you," I rejoined, very coolly, though her manner was most irritating.

"Of course you didn't—in *words*. You never do. In fact, I think I should like it better if you did *say* right out what you think. You certainly get it over. And I repeat, why should I be criticized for doing occasionally what your wonderful friends do all the time. That's a question I should like you to answer if you can."

She had turned, and stood looking down at me with a manner almost belligerent. There was a bright spot on either cheek which showed red even beneath the rouge, and the black eyes snapped dangerously.

My first impulse was to meet her half way, and in the same spirit. But I stopped long enough for a second thought, and so said nothing. Just as that moment the door bell rang, and I took advantage of this diversion, and answered it, letting in Dr. King, for whom we were waiting. Tommie, who had been delayed through helping Caroline with her dress, was not quite ready, so I insisted that Caroline and the doctor go on ahead. He hesitated, and looked at Caroline.

"Yes," said that saucy young lady in a tone which made her escort look at me inquiringly, "we might as well go on. I think it will be pleasanter."

And, gathering her fur coat about her, she swept royally out of the room, while Dr. King followed, looking puzzled.

The Zeta Lambda dance was very pretty, and, as most of the girls present were college students, with all the bloom and zest of youth, we had a lively time. Caroline was quite cool at first, so pointedly so as to make Tommie stare at me inquiringly. But I ignored her manner, and started in with a will to have a good time. As at the party of which I wrote you in a previous letter, Miss Billie Riddick and Caroline were the acknowledged belles, but this time Lillian Barton pressed them hard for the honors. I have to take off my hat to Miss Billie, for she's a game loser. If persistence and a "never-say-die" spirit will win for her, the doctor is going to be a sure victim. It's a curious fact that since the doctor's arrival in town, Billie has suddenly sprung into prominence as a favorite at all social affairs, a fact due entirely, as I see it, to the efforts she has made to please. The girl has something besides mere physical attractiveness—she has brains and resourcefulness. For some reason or other she seemed to have worked me into her plan of campaign, for this particular occasion at any rate. In some way, difficult for me to see, I was drawn into her circle, and in my first dance with her I was conscious that she was making an unusual effort to be pleasing. She is better at repartee than any girl around here except Lillian Barton or Caroline, and, even when she is making no special effort, she is interesting and entertaining. But on this occasion she outdid herself. She complimented me, and flattered me, quite shamelessly, and laughed when I tried to call her hand. As she is clever, her compliments, if broad, were so cunningly conceived as to hit hard. They were just the kinds of things, which of all others, I might wish were true. She's a clever one, there is no doubt of that, and she has me sized up perfectly.

The whole thing struck me all in a heap, and just before the end of our dance, I commenced to laugh. Then Billie, for whom you need not diagram your feelings to have them understood, commenced to laugh, too, and soon we had attracted the attention of several of the dancers, including Caroline, Tommie, and Lillian Barton, who looked at us with all the evidences of curiosity. During the intermission for refreshments, Miss Riddick and her escort, who was none other than my friend Scott Green, of Baltimore, got Tommie and me in a corner, where we had a very lively time, indeed. Green, as I have told you before, is very much taken with Miss Dawson. But you need not get jealous, for I don't believe she has anything but the most ordinarily friendly feeling for him. We had hardly gotten seated when here comes Lillian Barton, towing my friend Reese, and they had hardly seated themselves when Caroline arrived with the doctor, and, when the smoke had cleared away, Caroline was sitting between me and Miss Barton, with Tommie on the other side of me and Dr. King in front. Caroline took the floor and held it against all comers, and she treated me as if I were a long-lost favorite brother. She gave me part of her salad, sweetened my coffee herself, adjusted my napkin, and overwhelmed me with little attentions. The whole thing puzzled me not a little, it was in such marked contrast to her conduct of the past two or three weeks. But, as I have learned to take women much as they come, I attacked the good things on my plate without letting my state of puzzlement interfere with my appetite.

But in the midst of it all, something struck Miss Riddick as funny, and she commenced to laugh, at first quietly, then staccato fashion, in convulsive sobs. The men all stopped eating to look at her, but I noted, even in my perplexity, that the women, except Billie herself, ate on steadily, as if they would ignore this diversion, though both Caroline and Lillian Barton were flushed and they looked distinctly irritated and annoyed. Finally Billie, unable to control herself, had to be excused, and departed, still laughing helplessly, for the ladies' dressing room, whence she emerged only just as the music started up again.

There seem to be a lot of crosscurrents moving under the surface of our social sea. Just as the music started, and I was looking about for Tommie, up comes Don Verney, who had arrived very late, and, after two or three words of greeting, he made these mysterious remarks.

"Are you a good soldier," he asked surrenly.

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"Can you follow directions without asking questions?"

"Surely," said I.

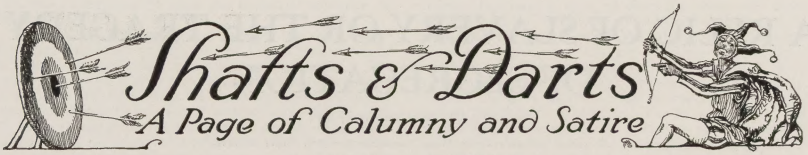
"Then cultivate Billie Riddick," he said, looking inscrutable as only he can look. Then he turned away to greet a lady, and left me gaping. At this moment, Tommie appeared, and, noticing my blank look, asked me what was the matter.

"There seem to be a lot of things going on here which I don't understand," I said.

"Yes?" said Tommie with a rising inflection in her voice, and a very merry twinkle in her eye. "My dear Davy, it's an old, old saying that 'There are none so blind as those who will not see,' and there's another one goes with it: 'Ears have they, and hear not.' The trouble with you is, Davy, that more, perhaps, than most people, you absolutely require perspective to see at all. But, come on, that music is too pretty to waste."

One thing is sure, and of that I have no doubt whatever, namely, that Tommie Dawson is a perfectly heavenly dancer. I believe you agree with me in that opinion. So I soon forgot for the moment all those things which were overworking my curiosity, and enjoyed the moment to the full. Don't you envy me, Bob? Well, just to make you

(*Concluded on page* 62)



By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

AFRAMERICAN FABLES:—You are famished. Your abdominal muscles won't behave and there is a great emptiness behind your belt. So you decide to step into a nearby Negro restaurant and—to descend to the argot—put on the feed bag. The place you select is very pleasing to the eye. The windows are *freshly washed*, the floor is clean, the table linen is immaculate and there are no cobwebs screening the upper corners of the room. There is no smell of grease and no smoke filling the place. You look about and notice that there are no signs pasted on the walls, such as "Please Pay When Served," "If You Spit on The Floor at Home, Do So Here. We Want You to Feel at Home," etc., etc. Everything is neatly arranged and there are no loiterers chinning in the rear of the establishment. Advertisements of dances are also absent. As you enter, a waitress rushes up. She wears a pleasant smile in addition to her usual clothing and newly-laundered apron. She is all attentive; assisting you with your coat, pulling out your chair, handing you the menu card (which is not covered with year-old fly specks), and waiting respectfully until you give your order. She doesn't even try to hold the while a conversation with the cook or the dishwater! After ordering your meal, you are surprised to find that they actually have prepared the dishes printed on the menu card and in a very short time the repast is before you on hot plates.

Before presenting the bill, the waitress sees that the toothpicks are within your range and replenishes the clean, bright tumbler with water. And when you tender a ten-spot in payment of your bill, you are not greeted with a pained expression, sarcastic comment and corrugated brow. A cheery smile from the waitress and cashier upon your leaving the place, leaves you with pleasant memories and a desire to return.

Where is this Negro restaurant? you eagerly inquire with a note of surprise and incredulity. As Rube Goldberg would say "That's Boloney."

THE LEOPARD'S SPOTS:—It is related somewhere in the chronicles of Froissart Bozo Snyder, Uncle Tom or some other successful drummer, that once upon a time a white Negro got a job in a factory where only members of the superior race were supposed to be employed—a not unusual circumstance in this land of liberty and equality, where—as Kelly Miller says—Christianity is the foundation of our social order (order!!). There was also employed in this hive of industry a white, 100 per cent Protestant, Nordic, native, Southern American foreman hailing from the enlightened commonwealth of Mississippi, where whole communities take delight and pride in uplifting the Negroes in their midst. This Nordic foreman suspected that the new employee was really black though white.

In order to prove this he asked each of the employees upon their exit on Saturday, whether or not they would be back on the job Monday morning. He received from them such answers as: "Sure," "You bet," "I don't mean maybe," "Yah," "Don't make me laugh," and "Now, I'll tell one." Then came the white black man who, much to the white foreman's satisfaction answered: "Yes, if God wills it." Monday morning found him shining shoes in a barber shop.

WHAT'S IN A NAME:—Names may mean much or little. A few days ago I met two undertakers down in Kentucky. One was named Robb and the other answered to Killingsworth.

WHY IS IT?:—There are many questions to puzzle the sojourner in this vale of tears who closely studies his neighbors. For instance:

Why do people apologize for not being college graduates?

Why do people generally associate whiteness with purity? Cannot a stick of licorice, a lump of anthracite coal or a can of lampblack be pure?

Why is it that many white people would rather call a Negro "Doctor" or "Professor" than to call him "Mister?"

Why do so many people flock to New York City when the same movies, "funny" strips and true-romance magazines can be seen and enjoyed in the remote villages of the interior?

Why is wisdom so often associated with the wearing of eyeglasses, the possession of many books or the maintenance of silence?

Why is it that a quart of synthetic gin normally selling for $1.00 will bring $8.00 if poured into a Gordon's bottle and stamped with a counterfeit revenue stamp?

Why is it that clergymen, reformers, uplifters and social workers are always howling for the abolition of sin, poverty and immorality? Don't they want to continue to make a living?

Why do people always demand an honest government and a business administration with the same breath?

Why do people apologize for the possession or imbibing of alcoholic beverages when the possession of good stuff is a real achievement?

Why is it that some people apologetically confess an ignorance of politics with a foolish smile when the veriest cretin can grasp the fundamentals of the game?

Why is it that undertakers, doctors and gravediggers pretend to be sorry when an epidemic of sickness strikes a community?

Why it is when a Negro makes a noteworthy record in some branch of endeavor that the newspapers credit it to his white blood, and lacking that, to his association with white people?

Why is it that the numberless white women who endure endless pain acquiring a "healthy tan" at the many so-called watering places, would immediately sue you for libel if you accused them of the most remote Negro ancestry—the more remote the greater the indignation because the harder to disprove?

Why is it that Red Cross nurses, Salvation Army Lassies and nuns are considered more virtuous than other women?

Why is it that the same man who will grow apoplectic at the suggestion of a two-cent increase in street car fare will emerge enthusiastic from a poorly lighted, smoke filled celler where his hearing has been impaired by raucous jazz music, his clothing perfumed with bad cigarette smoke, and his bankroll depleted unmercifully by the gyping of waiters, doormen, hat check girls and "entertainers" to the extent of thirty or forty dollars?

Why is it that lawyers pretend to deplore the crime wave?

Why is it that people who own factories, banks and large realty holdings, organize societies for the abolition of highway robbery?

Why is it that a college president is held in so much higher esteem than a street beggar who practices the same mendicancy on a much lower scale?

And lastly, I beg to be told, why do people call it the civilized world?

UNEMPLOYMENT:—Deploring and condemning re-current waves of unemployment has ever been a favorite pastime of radicals, liberals, reformers and such good folk. Yet, unemployment has its advantages. It enables our most beneficent social order to continue an uninterrupted existence; a condition vouchsafed no former order of society in all the world's history. For whenever vicious and immoral workingmen attempt to bludgeon their philanthropic employers for unheard of and economically injurious raises of pay and shortening of hours, there are always so many surplus stores of commodities piled up during "good times" that the obstreperous toilers can be dispensed with for a season or until they become more docile and tractable through unusual consideration for the securing of the bare necessities of existence. In this way our social order is kept intact and the government is never in danger of being overthrown, the National Security League, Secretary Kellogg and the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association to the contrary notwithstanding. And this—as all 100 per cent Americans will surely agree—is as it should be. (Morgan & Co. needn't offer me any check for this, either—I want cash!)

A RELIC OF SLAVERY OR THE TRAGEDY OF SEGREGATION

By FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

Executive Secretary Trade Union Committee for Org. Negro Workers

One of the strongest and most persistent arguments advanced by the slave-holders in justification of chattel slavery was, that because of certain physiological distinctions, the Negro was incapable of conquering the classics; or of forming even a remote acquaintance with the language of the classics; that the sciences would always remain closed books to his mentality and that he could never be able to think in the abstract. Hence, chattel slavery was his natural fate.

In the face of this wide-spread propaganda and its acceptance as divine truth, it was inevitable that many well meaning and thoughtful people of both races in turning their attention to the set of conditions arising out of the emancipation of the Negro from chattel slavery, would comes to the conclusion that in order to solve "The Negro Problem," it was necessary only that the Negro become "educated"; consequently the ambitious Negro turned his attention to and had his efforts directed toward the institutions of learning and wherever he was admitted, in proportion to his efforts and the success accompanying these efforts. Negroes and their white friends generally saw in such successes a concrete repudiation of the slave-holders claim anent, Negroes mental inferiority.

Every black boy's entry into a college was an event that held wide-spread interest; those who endorsed the slave-holders belief, naturally, hoped for his failure; for, failure would prove their point of view, while those who did not share these views, prayed for his success, in order to refute the claims of the slave-holders. Upon the successful termination of a Negro's college period, he was immediately accepted by that part of the white world friendly to his race as the "leader" of his people. Whenever he spoke, it was as the spokesman of his race; his was, literally, the tongue of Jacob but the voice of Ham. He occupied the position of intellectual handy-man without, in many instances, having the necessary qualifications. If the white world wanted to know what Negroes thought of segregation, religion, science, politics or any other subject then on the anvil of popular discussion, it would ferret out the college graduate "spokesman" of the race, and his opinions would be accepted by both white and black as the opinions of the Negro race. And so we have become saddled with Negro spokesmen for over two generations, until the practice has become so intrenched in our lives that today these spokesmen exercise a veritable dictatorship of opinion on the so-called "Negro Problem."

It might be argued by some that to accept the Negro college graduate as the spokesman of his race at a time when about 90 per cent of the newly emancipated slaves were illiterate was perfectly justifiable; whatever the truth of this statement, its tragic continuation today cannot be defended; for it should be plain to all that the class lines which hardly existed immediately following the overthrow of slavery, is now very much in evidence in the ranks of the race; like other groups, we have developed our exploiters and condoners of exploitation, and as time treads heavily on, leaving its industrial foot-prints on the life of the nation, it will bring into bolder relief in the Negro group, the antagonism inherent in a social order based upon man's exploitation of man. To permit the exploiters and their defenders to speak for the whole Negro race, especially on matters intimately touching their separate economic interest, is to deny to the overwhelming majority of the race, who are workers, the opportunity to contribute their share to the general discussion of the aims, hopes and aspirations of the working-class. Besides, to misrepresent the Negro worker now, will tend further to spread hatred and race prejudice in the ranks of the white workers of the nation against him.

In the November issue of the "American Mercury," Professor Kelly Miller, erstwhile Dean of Howard University, comes waddling, perspiring, breathless and somewhat perplexed, to say his piece on "The Negro as a Workingman." Were it not for the fact that the question of the Negro worker today is one of prime importance to himself and to his class generally, the mouthings of the Dean would not warrant the attention of any serious minded person. Reverently, the Dean steps before the foot-lights, amid the thunderous applause of our industrial masters and proceeds to ask the question: "Where does the American Negro stand, and where should he stand in the battle between capital and labor?" Before taking us thru a most tortuous valley of illogical reasonings, the Dean most majestically declares: "Race prejudice violates every canon of logic," and then he proceeds to prove his point by himself violating every one of logic's canon. He admits that the Negro belongs to the proletariat, that 95 per cent of Negroes are workers,, and that they are "keenly concerned in the advancement and maintenance of a high scale of wages," but says he, "the issue of race is deeper than the question of wages." Is that so! Well, let's see! There are approximately 30,000,000 useful workers in the United tates; the census credits the Negro with being about 11,000,000; granting then that about 9,000,000 Negroes are workers, we are confronted with 19,000,000 white workingmen. These white workers are employed by white capitalists—not capital—do these white workingmen organize in trade unions? Do they demand higher wages and shorter hours, and upon whom do they make these demands? Not upon black capitalists to be sure, but upon white capitalists.

"The captain of industry feels that he can afford to be kindly and generous to the Negro laborer." Well, well, professor! Read the above quotation over again then answer this question, is the Negro laborer treated kindly and generous because of race? Or do wages figure in the matter? If race is deeper than wages, then why does the captain of industry, who is white, treat the Negro laborer kindly and generous? We might say here, that we have no desire to disturb the academic tranquillity of Howard's famous Dean, so we will pass on to the next point.

A series of new industrial questions and problems are now arising, affecting most vitally the relationship of the Negro and white populations. Foremost among these, is the question of Negro labor, brought to the fore by the increasing urbanization of the population, the marvellous industrialization of the farms, the stringent immigration laws now in operation, and last but by no means least, the persistent exodus of Negro workers from the almost agriculturally dead South to the industrial North, East and West. And now, like as in the past, these important questions are being left in the hands of so-called Negro "leaders," many of them completely out of touch and sympathy with the working-class, and into whose heads no new idea has found lodgement since they first obtained a college degree a generation or more ago. Rather than weigh these new question in the scale of logic and by the yard-stick of other group's experiences, these "leaders" turn to the Bible and to the past for inspiration and guidance, when as a matter of fact, at no time since emancipation, or before that time, has the Ne-

gro been called upon to meet the industrial problems he faces today.

"In all of the leading lines of industry the white workmen organize either to shut out the Negro competitor, or to shunt him aside into separate lines of work." The above is a gem. For it the Dean deserves to be placed in the Halls of Fame, nay, he should be given forthwith the Nobel Peace Prize; for if what he says is true, then all the wily capitalists of the nation need to do in order to stop white workers from organizing into trade unions, is to cease employing Negro workers. And where is the capitalist who would not prefer to see his class free to rob and exploit and dominate our industrial life without the malicious interference of these cursed trade unions rather than employ Negro workers? "Capital"—he means capitalist—stands for the open shop, which gives every man the "unhindered right to work." That's rich! We too, believe in the "unhindered right" to work but, in spite of our belief, we find like millions of other workers do—that our "unhindered right" is not worth a damn when the tools of production and distribution are owned and controlled by the capitalists, who too, have the "unhindered right," to deny to the workers the use of their tools, then the workers, and sometimes professors too, are compelled to fall back upon their other "unhindered right" to starve. Here the Dean suddenly becomes scientific and says: "But the unions insist upon collective bargaining which is advantageous enough for those inside the circle of benefit, but not to the Negro who loiters on the outer edge." Is it possible that the Dean does not know that the capitalist believes in, and studiously practices collective bargaining, while strenuously denying the same to the workers? Besides, any student of economics and sociology knows that the standard of living which fluctuates with the scale of wages and the price of commodities in a given community, generally affects all life and all wages in that community. It is also well-known that it is the trade unions which set the scale of wages and the hours of labor, and that these advantages though won by the organized workers, benefit also those workers not members of the union. One can but imagine what would be the wages paid Negro bricklayers, carpenters or garment workers in New York City today if there were no unions in these trades, to say nothing of the hours of work.

It is here, however, that the Dean sparkles with genius. "Capital"—he means capitalist—"has but one dominant motive, production, sale and profit." If the above be true, then why is unemployment? Why war? Why poverty? Why a housing problem? Are these capitalistic blessings calculated to promote production? I suggest to the Dean that he turn the sentence around and put *profit* as the capitalist's dominant motive in industry. "There is every indication that it is the intention of the great industries—he means industrialists—to foster and favor the Negro workman to the fullest extent of his merit and efficiency, for the Negro wantonly to flout their generous advances by joining the restless ranks which threaten industrial ruin, would be fatuous suicide." Three cheers for the Dean! The restless ranks, etc., is genuine rhetoric but poor sense. Dean Miller ought to know and there is no excuse for his not knowing, of the brilliant role played in our social, economic and cultural development by the organized labor movement of this country and of the world. Doesn't he know that the existence of public schools in America is in a very large measure due to the restless ranks of trade unionists? That if it were not for the restlessness of the organized workers during the civil war, he might be a peon today in Dixie rather a Dean in Howard University? And does he not know that all progress is due to man's restlessness?

"At present the capitalist class possesses the culture and the conscience which hold ever the malignity of race passion in restraint. There is nothing in the white working-class to which the Negro can appeal." What the gentleman means is that the capitalist class sets the standard of culture and defines the ethics of present-day society. But cultural and ethical standards are rather elusive and restless, they have a habit of deserting those who claim sole possession of them and of turning up among those, whom the Dean says, do not possess them. As these words are being written, newboys are hawking out the latest wrinkle in the Rhinelander scandal. Who cannot recall the cultural career of banker Stillman? And certainly, even the Dean is aware of the Solomonic rampage of most of the South's aristocrats. On the other hand, the restraining influences on the worker is not his lack of conscience or culture but his economic insecurity which prevents him from revelling in the cultural (?) waters of the capitalist pond. As to "there being nothing in the white working-class to which the Negro can appeal," we cautiously and most modestly whisper to the Dean, SELF INTEREST! It is the only thing worth while appealing to, Dean, and the only reason why the appeals have not yet been answered is because most of the workers, black and white, do not yet clearly understand their SELF INTEREST. When they do, it will mean the dawning of a new day, as well as a brighter and fuller life for all the world.

In a final attempt to answer the question: "Where does the American Negro stand and where should he stand in the battle between capital and labor?" Professor Miller says, "but the laborers outnumber the capitalists ten to one and under democracy they must, in the long run, gain the essential aims for which they strive." This is a commendable observation of the Dean, granting, of course, that he knows the "essential aims" for which the organized labor movement strives. But Professor, if as you say—and you are right—the future belongs to workers, how explain your advice to the 10,000,000 Negro workers of America to "stand shoulder to shoulder with the captains of industry?" All of the foregoing proves that Professor Kelly Miller is discussing a subject with which he has very little acquaintance, that he is unfit to speak for the workers of the race in this day and time when the burning question of the hour is democracy in industry, and in the answering of which question is rapt up the fate of the American Negro. Professor Miller is no more competent to discuss this question than is the writer to lecture on theology. The Dean still holds tightly to the erroneous belief that the rich white man is the Negroes best friend, while the white workingman is his worst enemy; for is it not the latter who "lynch and burn Negroes?" It ought to be clear, especially to a professor, that the capitalist class is today in solid control of most of the principal instruments for moulding the opinions of society, and if that class so desires, it can in a very short period of time change the opinions and attitudes of the white masses toward the Negro, from hostility and bitterness to friendship and confidence. Note what took place during the blood-stained days of the late war for democracy. Shortly after hostility began in Europe, a song was published here entitled "I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier." Over night, that song captured the hearts of the people. It is doubtful whether any other song was as well received as was this "hymn of hate" for war and of "love for peace." It was a veritable referendum of the American people on the question of war and peace. Their decision was in favor of peace and they even elected Wilson because "he kept us out of war." But when it became apparent that the Germans would defeat the Allies and that in consequence, the large investments of a small group of citizens would be lost, public opinion was rudely turned through the influence of the press, the pulpit, the schools and other instruments, from a burning desire for peace, to an apparently unquenchable thirst for blood, and we yelled, "get the Hun!" "The Yanks Are Coming!" There is no doubt but that if the capitalists were to use their control of the press, the churches, the schools and the pulpits, to correct the existing false impression and remove the hatred and suspicion now commonly held by both races concerning each other, lynching and the other barbarities from which the Negro in particular, and the workers generally suffer, would receive a decided death blow.

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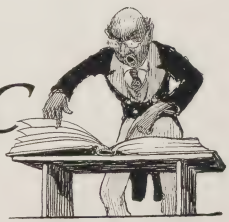
The Critic

Do they tell the truth



By J. A. ROGERS

Is There a Psychological Gulf Between Caucasian and the Negro?

In a thoughtful, well-written article on the sociology of Negro literature in OPPORTUNITY, the writer, Fred DeArmond, makes a fundamental error when he says in speaking of the progress of the so-called Negro in art:

"But it is not so much the educational development of the Negro under enormous difficulties that constitutes the outstanding feature of his artistic accomplishment, as it is his marvelous adaptability to Caucasian civilization. In reading one of Claude McKay's poems, or listening to Roland Hayes singing, or admiring the pictures of Taner, one should remind oneself of the vast gulf that the artist has bridged between his art and his savage African ancestry—at most only a few generations away. Wherever the Ethiopian has been transplanted to other parts of the world, he has shown himself remarkably adaptable to foreign civilization."

Vast gulf that the artist has bridged between his art and his savage African ancestry!

This sounds very much like the Lothrop Stoddard—Thomas Dixon—Madison Grant brand of sociology. The fact is that a child born of African, Chinese Hindu, or other parentage in the United States, would, if reared exclusively among Caucasians, be a Caucasian in thought and ideals. What else could he be since he came into the world knowing almost nothing? Needless to say if he hadn't been told of Africa he would be as ignorant of that continent and its ways as a Caucasian one reared by African pygmies would be of the quick lunch counter, the Republican Party, the K.K.K., hotch, and other blessings of civilization.

. . . . . .

As to the matter of artistic development, let us suppose that the African and the Caucasian child were inherently musical to the same degree. The Caucasian child, though he had the genius of a Beethoven, would become in the African environment, only a more capable beater of the tom-tom than his fellows, while the African child in the Caucasian environment would be a skilled pianist or harpist. And why? Because in the latter instance the memory of the African child would be lengthened by the written records of the Caucasian environment.

Many an African lad, fresh from a thousand years of jungle ancestry, is today outstripping white youths born in the shadows of great universities. I could cite many instances. Where is the gulf that has been bridged in such cases?

Consider, also, the case of the two million or more Caucasian illiterates in the United States. Evidently these have not yet bridged the gulf and are on the same side with illiterate Africans. Mr. DeArmond's gulf appears to be pretty solid ground.

Ancestry, near or remote, evidently has nothing to do with it. Opportunity and the will to succeed are the chief factors, given the genius which exists alike in peoples of all colors.

Take the parable of the sower who went forth to sow. Some of his seeds fell among thorns, some by the wayside, some in stony places, while some fell into good ground. The first three mentioned, we are told, either perished or bore nothing, while the fourth bore fruit, some a hundred, some sixty, and some thirty fold. Yet all the seeds, those that failed, as well as those that succeeded, came from the same bag! It was clearly the fault of the sower why there wasn't a hundred per cent crop.

Humanity is one, and as it was with those seeds, so is it with human ability. Environment is the chief thing. The Negro in France, is a Frenchman, in England, an Englishmen, and so on.

Moreover, it is not true that there is a vast gulf between the art of the American Negro and the African one interpreting Mr. DeArmond's broadly. I visited the Wembley Exhibition in London last year and from the specimens of native art, I saw there, I am prepared to say that the African Negro is as far ahead artistically of the American Negro as the European is ahead of the American white man.

And what of the bronzes and ivory carvings of Benin, West Africa, to be seen in the British Museum or the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, which rank with the world's finest?

Race, or color, has inherently, nothing to do with artistic development. That is a fact that the so-called American Negro should hammer into his mind. Mr. DeArmond, I take it, as a so-called Negro, and it is painful to see a member of that group using professional white man's doctrine. That, however, is a common occurrence.

I could point out further fallacy in the fact that Tanner is almost wholly a white man, but enough has already been said.

Mr. DeArmond's article, however, is excellent, and should be widely read. Very apt is this passage:

"The continuing improvement in inter-radical relations will have the effect of turning Negro thought away from channels of controversy and propaganda. It will release the writers of philippics for more creative work, just as the final abolition of slavery turned Whittier and Lowell from fiery abolition poems to the greater and broader classics on which their fame chiefly rests in our day."

There is a great deal of anti-Negro propaganda issued monthly in the leading magazines. For the past three years I have been criticizing these articles and have been able to touch only a small percentage. Negro writers are thus forced into controversy for the fact is, that if a lie is told often enough without contradiction it is accepted as a truth.

Crime News

Dailies like the New York World and the Chicago News are undoubtedly friendly to the so-called Negro, yet they continue to carry stories of Negro crime, sometimes unfounded, as in the Kane murder.

The editors will no doubt point to the fact that they also carry stories of "Negro" accomplishment, yet it is to be doubted whether the latter do as much good as the former do harm. Friends of the Negro will read both the good and the bad; while his enemies, who are perhaps the more numerous, following the usual course of human nature, will skip the good and read the bad. And as to crime news in general, I find myself accepting the idea that it does more harm than good. I am beginning to believe that for every one well-meaning person that it warns from crime it offers suggestion to a dozen defectives. Following each case like the notorious Leopold-Loeb case, are several similar crimes. The Christian Science Monitor, it seems, has the best idea after all.

Suppose the dailies adopt the same method they have in dealing with crime by the Irish, the Jew, the Pole and other groups.

Again, the Old Line Arguments

The following are excerpts from an article in the current issue of the North American Review by Roy L. Garis, Professor of Economics in Vanderbilt University, entitled,

(*Concluded on page* 59)

A LETTER TO DELEGATES TO PULLMAN COMPANY'S WAGE CONFERENCE

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

General Organizer Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

You have been elected to the Wage Conference. Some of you are earnest and sincere; others selfish, ambitious and hypocritical. You were elected by un-American and un-Democratic methods. Most of you were voted for by the men involuntarily, under threats and intimidations. Some of you really believe that you can help the men through the Conference. Some of you are well-meaning but misguided.

At the outset it is well for you to realize that this is the Company's Conference, organized, owned and controlled by it. The cards are stacked against you. This method has been tried by the workers of America before, on and off the railroads, but without success. The Company union sugar-coated the Employee Representation Plan, has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Your case is like the lion and the lamb. They only lie down together when the lamb is in the belly of the lion. So it will be with you and the Company. Of course, you will be flattered, cajoled and honey-fuggled; you will be told that you are great men, that the members of the Brotherhood are scalawags, and that the Employee Representation Plan is your only salvation; that the Company is your best friend; all of which is pure deception.

The Company knows, the porters know and the general public knows that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters compelled the Pullman Company to call this conference. It is called in a desperate attempt to head off the Brotherhood, to arrest its progress. Of course it will give you an increase in wages, but remember, not on account of your being in the Conference, that is merely an excuse for giving an increase; it is because of the progress and agitation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Don't thank the Company; thank the Brotherhood. You never would have gotten anything were it not for the union. Now although the Company feels that you are sure things, that you have no minds of your own, that you can be moulded like clay in the hands of a potter, don't permit them to make a complete fool of you.

Elaborate and sumptuous banquets will be prepared for you; plenty of smokes and drinks will be furnished you, and so-called big, hypocritical and corrupt Negro leaders will orate to you on the virtues of the Pullman Company and the wickedness of the porters' union. They have been bought and paid for with Pullman money. Like the dog before the graphaphone, they are listening to their master's voice, the Pullman Company. Ask these very same leaders have they protested to the Pullman Company against the violation of the rule of seniority, by placing untrained, inexperienced Filipinos on the club cars over the request and protest of Negro porters who have five and six stripes, been twenty and thirty years in the service?

Putting the Filipinos on the club cars is a definite and flagrant violation of the agreement made between the porters and the Company, in the wage Conference of 1923. May I ask, if the Pullman Company has not kept that agreement, what assurance have you that it will keep the one you are about to sign? Making an agreement is not important, keeping it, enforcing it, is the question. Thus granting that the Company gave you a good agreement, you could not enforce it, because you have no power, and you have no power because you have no organization.

In this Conference, the Company may pity you, but it will not respect you. It fears and respects only the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

And dear delegates, don't be misled by the Pullman Company's propaganda which is circulated to the effect that this Conference will halt the progress of the union. The wish is father to the thought. It will do nothing of the kind. It will only help it because the men have brains enough to see that they would not now be getting the little the Company is giving them were it not for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Brotherhood is a reality. It is on the map, and here to stay. It is no spasmodic bubble of enthusiasm. It is a solid, enduring, imperishable achievement, a steady, progressive, constructive movement. It will prevent the Company from reducing the wages of the men as well as force the Company to raise them. It will also remedy and correct numberless grievances of the porters which are bound to arise from time to time. Just as the Locomotive Engineers keep their union, though they are the highest paid on the railroad workers, in order to get greater future wage increases and constantly to improve the conditions under which they work, so the Pulman porters need a union of, for and by themselves for all time, to protect their interests, else the Pullman Company will take away what they give them when they get good and ready.

Now what can you do to help the men? If you are in earnest in your desire to help your fellow brothers, demand: (1) 240 hours or less in regular assignment, (2) an increase in wages from $67.50 to a living wage of $155 a month, (3) conductor's pay for conductor's work, (4) time and a half for over-time, (5) the elimination of Filipinos off the cars, since they were used as a threat against organization, (6) pay for porters who report for duty whether they are sent out or not, (7) the right of the porters and maids to join a union without interference or discrimination against them by the Company.

Refuse to sign the agreement unless these demands are granted. Remember the eyes of the Brotherhood are on you. These demands will be a supreme test of the Company's pretensions that it is your friend. All of these demands will benefit you. You want them. Be men and contend for them and stage a memorable stand by leaving the Conference, if they are not granted. It will be a tribute to you, an honor to your race and a lesson to the Company, it will ever remember. Of course, all of you would not do it. Because some of you are hopeless Uncle Toms, but others of you more manly spirits should form a minority, block and deadlock the Conference unless it treats the porters justly, since it is upon the porter's labor that its wealth depends.

Sincerely yours,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

BEREAN SCHOOL

DAY, COMMERCIAL NIGHT, TRADES

Second Semester, February 9, 1926

CLASSES NOW FORMING

Write the Principal

MATTHEW ANDERSON

S. College Ave. Philadelphia, Pa.

Edito

Opinion of the leading

Negro Students

At Howard and Fisk Universities a new Negro student has arisen. He breathes the spirit of independence and revolt against oppression. As a result of autocratic policies on the part of the presidents of these respective institutions, much unrest has developed among the student body. Undoubtedly discontent among the students with the administrative and executive heads of an institution interferes with the constructive and spiritual life of the institution. Even granting that the grounds of complaint and opposition on the part of the students are unsound, if they are persistent, no fundamentally creative work can be systematically done on the part of the students of the faculty. Obviously the situation which obtains in Howard University, where there is a ceaseless conflict between the president and the student body as well as hesitant and grudging loyalty and devotion on the part of members of the faculty to the president, renders it necessary, in the interest of the development of a healthy, vigorous, educational spirit, that the source of the trouble be courageously dealt with. It is quite generally conceded and recognized that President Durkee is responsible for the turmoil at Howard. Since that is true, even though he may have brought to Howard munificent contributions and placed Howard in class A of the colleges of the country, he is evidently spiritually unprepared successfully to continue as the head of the institution. For this reason he ought himself to resign and lift Howard out of this chronic and devastating confusion; for it is not enough for an institution of learning to win the goods of this world and lose its soul.

Mays and the Brotherhood

The Negro press reports telegrams received from Mr. R. L. Mays, telling of his resignation from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This is indeed amazing because Mr. Mays has never been a member or official of the Brotherhood. How can he withdraw from that with which he was never connected?

Of course, he spoke in the meetings of the union, just as did Pickens, Owen, Strafford, Hugh Frayne, Crosswaith, John Fitzpatrick (president of the Chicago Federation of Labor), James Weldon Johnson and H. E. Wills (vice-president of the Locomotive Engineers), but he was never a part of the movement.

He was invited to speak in the meetings because he was thought to be sincere and genuinely interested in the movement. But we see now that we misjudged him. And we are amazed. We confess that we are disappointed in both his character and his judgment.

Whom does his action benefit?

Certainly not the Pullman porters.

Governor Smith's Message

In vision, courage and masterly handling of state problems, Governor Alfred E. Smith is by long odds, the superior of any governor in the country. On the matter of housing, he has faced the question more boldly than any of his predecessors. On taxation and the reconstruction of the State's government machinery, he showed a serious interest in fundamental state issues. Withal there are definite limitations to his message from the workers' view point. Many of his policies are mere liberal tinkerings and palliatives. They don't go to the roots of problems but still they are suggestive of deeper strivings for beneficient social change. In very truth, Al Smith is a credit to Tammany, a challenge to the aristocratic Republican silk-stocking group and a stop gap on the fundamental, political, economic and social radicals. He is industriously stealing the thunder of the Socialists, and effectively rendering their protest less appealing and effective.

The Coal Strike

The coal strike has been on for about four months now. Miners and operators have conferred but to no avail. Both are adamant. Both are unyielding. The miners are willing to submit to government control. This the operators oppose. The operators, on the other hand, would accept Chas. E. Hughes as an arbitrator. But this is unsatisfactory to the miners.

The issue is, should wages be reduced or not. The operators contend they should whereas the miners contend they should not.

Meanwhile the public is suffering from the lack of coal, and miners' wives and children are calling to their men despite diminished sustenance, occasioned by the strike, to hold out. Apparently the miners' solution of government control is a sound one.

The N.A.A.C.P. Raises $50,000 Defense Fund

Negro Americans have responded nobly. For once, they are recognizing the value of dollars in a fight for manhood—rights. Challenged by the Sweet case, the segregation situation in Washington, D. C., and the question of legally testing the validity of disfranchisement, Negroes have answered and registered their verdict in no uncertain terms. Were they to fail in rising to the test imposed by either one of these cases, they could not look the world squarely in the face again and claim that they are real men and women.

But, of course, the raising of $50,000 for such a big

rials

colored American thinkers

vital question is no great feat for ten million Negroes. The sum is picayune for such a cause. Even the raising of a million should not baffle a group of people with one fifth of our number, so oppressed, who seriously want freedom and justice.

The Month

No great bolts of sensational world events were shot this month. The world has about forgotten the Mosul award of the Council of the League of Nations, despite the injustice to the Turks. The franc is still sick, and the Briand government may fall any day. Mussolini's dramatic proclamation on the proposed Italian empire has fallen in to the background in public interest to give way to the discussion of the ubiquitous question of the funding of the Italian debt to the United States. Affairs are relatively quiescent on the eastern sector of world politics. Commercial relations are reported to be in full swing, between Soviet Russia and American Capitalists. Lloyd George is at it again, trying to stage a "come back" via liberalism through a sort of rapprochement with British Labor. The British widow's pension is the subject of endless discussion. In America the big events are the Anthracite coal parley between the operators and miners which ended in a statement, neither side yielding, and the threat of the U. S. State Department to the Calles Government because of Mexico's alleged violation, through certain legislation, of the right of Americans to certain vested property interests. Then there is the Alluminum investigation involving Mellon of the Treasury. Among Negroes, the Sweet case, the Pullman porters' movement and the sensational expose of the Chicago Whip, occupy the center of the stage.

Roland Hayes' Dilemma

Roland Hayes faces a dilemma. He is torn between devotion to two principles; one, standing by his pledged word in his contract with the management of his singing tour; two, loyalty to the principle of race equality or the right of his race to enjoy the constitutional guarantees of every American citizen. Which will he stand by? Which is the more important, both from the point of view of Hayes and the race? If he does not live up to his contract, it may injure his future opportunities to appear, as an artist, before large audiences in America. If he does stand by it he will alienate and provoke the condemnation of the millitant element of his race, since it is construed that by singing to an audience in which members of his group are jim crowed, he is rendering the fight against the evil of segregation more difficult, every day. It is a dilemma, we submit, which is not easy of solution.

The question may logically be raised: Is the race to benefit more by Roland Hayes appearing before large white audiences, affording them the opportunity to witness talent and genius of the Negro as expressed through him, though Negroes are denied admission or are jim crowed in such audiences; or, will the race be advanced more by an absolute refusal on the part of Hayes to sing to any audience, the contract, to the contrary notwithstanding, where Negroes are deliberately segregated. This is a serious and unfortunate situation for Mr. Hayes. Undoubtedly the strain which it imposes upon him prevents him from giving his best to the world.

In view of the great social consequences of segregation of the Negroes in America, as shown by the recent case of Dr. Sweet of Detroit, of Mrs. Curtis of Washington, from the point of view of the race it would appear proper and advantageous for Mr. Hayes to demand the unrestricted right of Negroes to buy seats wherever they choose where he sings, upon pain of his refusal to sing. Of course this thing is not new of Negroes being segregated in or barred entirely from audiences before whom members of their race are performing. This is true of all the Negro theatrical companies who travel through the South appearing in the white theatres. In the south, too, Negro barbers conduct shops in which a Negro could no more get a hair cut or a shave than he could get a room in a white hotel in Georgia. Two instances in proof are Herndon's barber shop in Atlanta, Ga., and Frank Crowd in Jacksonville, Fla. Of course nothing is said about these forms of Negroes discriminating against Negroes, because they are of such long standing, and certain Negroes take especial pride in the fact that certain members of their race have the privilege of catering to white people only. They talk boastfully about the fact that they have no Negro customers, seeming to feel that this is a special badge of honor. And the so-called best Negroes glory in this thing. They talk glibly about the impracticability of mixing the trade. Few professional or business Negroes are willing to admit that they have Negroes as their clientele.

This is a hangover of the slave psychology. It is an expression of the inferiority complex, a belief that it is an honor to serve white people and a dishonor to serve black people. It is an evidence of spiritual decay in our group. We lack pride of race which is essential to the progress of any people. On account of these big issues involved, the decision of Roland Hayes in the matter of singing to jim-crowed audiences has far-reaching consequences to our group. It needs a much deeper analysis than we are here making, an analysis which we may undertake to make in a future article in the *Messenger*. Our aim here is to suggest a train of serious thinking on question that is of vital interest to the race.

THE NEGLECTED TRUTH

By CHANDLER OWEN

CHAPTER II.

One philosopher has said, "A destroyer of weeds is a benefactor, whether he soweth grain or not." He who destroys falsehoods has performed a public service by substituting merely detection and exposure of those falsehoods. The man who cleans out crooks and grafters and blackmailers performs a public service to that community.

In its milk and water reply, *The Chicago Whip* says that Owen is trying to destroy, that he is attempting "to impung our motives, question our integrity and malign our characters." I accept the challenge. I impunge their motives. I not only question, but deny absolutely, their integrity. I do not malign their characters; they do it themselves by their low dealings along nearly every line. In fact, I am reminded of that writer who said, "I am now discussing men so low that they may put on a stove-pipe hat and walk under the belly of a snake without bending."

Last month they attempted to divert attention from the issue by some *sob stuff* relative to the Liberty Life Insurance Company and Frank Gillespie. I propose here to go even further into that case and to cite four or five others equally damning and enlightening with respect to the character of the men who do *The Whip's* dirty work.

1. Whereas the facts were painstakingly verified with respect to *The Whip's* contract with the Liberty Life (not even taking at its face value the word of Frank Gillespie, himself), Bibb had said in his own office, that Frank Gillespie had paid him $8,000. It was presumed that Bibb was lying and forcing the figures up a little (so it was verified, as have been all the important matters which have appeared and will appear in these articles) and found that the sum was only $4,500. That was not all that Bibb did. He wanted partners in his crookedness. So he tried to induce others to shake down the Liberty Life as he claimed he had done.

2. The C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company had been carrying a small "ad" in *The Whip* and a large one in *The Chicago Defender*. Bibb said, "We want that large "ad" which the Walkers are giving *The Defender* and *The Courier*. We don't seem to be able to get it. I am, therefore, planning to write some thing about Dr. Gordon Jackson, Mrs. Nora Holt, and others connected with the Walker firm. You bet we'll make them come across." It was said to him, "The advertising and general managing of the C. J. Walker Company is done by Mr. F. B. Ransom, a man of sterling integrity and spotless character. He can neither be bull-dozed nor bullied. If you would like to get a larger 'ad' you had better go over, or send someone over to see him in Indianapolis. You will then have the good-will of that firm and be able to occupy a place where you can get some business because you are liked, rather than because you are feared." Bibb either went over himself or sent someone else, for as he afterward said that he had gotten the "ad" just as had been suggested.

3. Bibb also planned to shake down the National Benefit Life Insurance Company. Discussion of the Standard Life was rife, and had been for sometime. While the affiant did not see it, Bibb said that some man had handed him a claim against the National Benefit. The recollection is, that it was not a policy, but referred to some claim of an agent in New Orleans who said that he had done work for The National Benefit Company. Bibb was told at that time that if he attempted those tactics with The National Benefit Life Insurance Company, he would get into hot water. He was informed that Mr. R. H. Rutherford, president of the National Benefit, was a man of integrity and ability, who, while not picking any fight, was capable, intellectually, financially and morally, of carrying on one if occasion presented itself. Attention was called to the fact that white insurance companies didn't do much newspaper advertising; that they advertised chiefly in magazines. Bibb was warned that no such method would work with the National Benefit, one of the most powerful of all the colored insurance companies.

4. The Overton Hygienic Company had not been an extensive advertiser with the colored newspapers like the C. J. Walker Company or Poro. It had adopted, instead, the method of travelling agents. The papers, therefore, were not warmly disposed toward its president and founder, Anthony Overton. Bibb and *The Whip* were especially hostile to the Overton interests, for no other reason than that they did not give, and would not give, the kind of advertising *The Whip* wanted. Bibb said, "I can't get Overton to come across and I figure the reason is because *that old bird* must be solid." However he went on to explain the way he hoped to get back at Mr. Overton. Bibb continued: "Anthony Overton is not only the owner of the Overton Hygienic Company but he is also president of the Victory Life Insurance Company and president of the Douglass National Bank. A bank is always a ticklish proposition. A run on it may give a good scare to its owners and managers. I have, therefore, thought about having someone to present a bad check to the bank which would result in the check's being returned. I could then put a large head-line on my front page:

DOUGLASS NATIONAL BANK FAILS
to pay John Doe's bad check."

The scheme here was the same as one which once happened to the Lincoln State Bank, situated at 31st and State Streets, Chicago. Bibb said that some little paper published by some colored man in Chicago (Richard Parker, publisher of the *Advocate*, a sheet which comes out only around election time) had done this trick, which resulted in a run on the Lincoln State Bank. Bibb stated, however, that he was a little afraid that he might be unable to get by with this trick as the laws of Illinois made it criminal for anyone to cause a run upon a bank.

The lines, "to pay John Doe's bad check" were to have been in small, unnoticeable type and the head-line, "DOUGLAS NATIONAL BANK FAILS" was to be so large that no one could miss it. Bibb reasoned that a person seeing the head-line would spread the alarm without ever stopping to read the rest of the sentence or the article.

5. Last year the winter was fair and mild, and the cab business was poor, just as it always is when the weather is not cold, rainy or snowy. The Yellow Cab had put on a cut, too, which made the cost for five passengers as cheap as one. This competition made it hard for the colored cab companies. Bibb said that on one of the cab company's boards sat Louis B. Anderson, colored Alderman of Chicago, and Robert S. Abbott, Editor-owner of the Defender. He therefore desired to threaten and try to shake down the Your Cab Company as a means of getting revenge on his so-called political and newspaper enemies and, at the same time, to get some business. He said he was restrained by the fact that he had friends on the board, and the president of the Company, W. H. Lee, was also treasurer of the Liberty Life Insurance Company, which had just closed a contract with *The Whip*.

6. About the latter part of last July, or the early part of August, I (Chandler Owen) had several telephone calls at the Alpha Hotel, requesting me to come to the office of *The Whip*. The calls had been frequent and persistent, due to the fact that I had been in Cincinnati and Indianapolis for a few days on business. When I returned and called *The Whip*, Bibb told me that he wanted to confer on a very important matter which could not be discussed over the phone, but would require a personal conference. I was going to the Post Office at 31st and

Indiana, so agreed to stop by *The Whip* office. What did Bibb want with me. This: The Messenger had started a series of articles advocating organization of the Pullman porters. Bibb claims to have been in touch with parties high in the Pullman Company. They did not want the articles carried. Bibb said, however, it was a fine thing to carry them, and that he and ourselves could shake the Pullman Company down for a fortune, if we would play the "game" the way he would suggest. He went on, "The Pullman Company is scared blue. They would like to stop those articles from running. If you and Randolph have sense enough to make some money, I can get a heavy shake-down for you, that is, if you will let me act as your representative. I think, though, that you ought to carry about four or five more articles because they will be more alarmed and will cough up the shekels more freely." As evidence of his ability to deliver, Bibb cited his previous experience with the Pullman Company when he had started a series of articles for which he claimed the utility interests of Chicago gave him certain advertising with the understanding that he would not continue those articles. (Explanation of this follows further on in this article.)

Before passing on, however, we want our readers to grasp the actual perfidy, treachery and degradation of *The Whip* and its editors. Here were men who had gone to school and college, studied law and journalism, and were using such knowledge as they possessed to try to destroy the most powerful and splendid organization of the whole race in order to get a few paltry dollars. They were willing to wreck the Liberty Life Insurance Company, which had been built faster by that able and dynamic genius, Frank Gillespie, than any colored insurance company of the country. They were ready to injure the reputation of a man and wreck and ruin colored womanhood in order to get an "ad" from the C. J. Walker Company, a concern which was builded by the sweat and blood and sacrifice of Mme. C. J. Walker,—an institution which gives thousands of dollars to charity, education and the public welfare of people of color. If they had been able to do so, they planned to strike a blow at the great National Benefit Life Insurance Company, headed by two splendid men, R. H. Rutherford and Samuel Wilson Rutherford—men who have built a company with nearly fifty million dollars insurance in force. Of all the dastardly things they planned, none strikes us quite so keenly as their contemplation on how to injure the Douglass National Bank. Here is the only national bank Negroes have in the world, built at a great sacrifice of toil and sweat and unfaltering devotion. It is the property, not of Anthony Overton, and the fine men on that board, but it holds the deposits of twenty thousand Negroes in Chicago, who have been taught thrift and saving by this unparalleled banking institution. Yet, for a few dollars, had they not been restrained by fear, they were willing to try to bring wreck and loss and ruin to twenty thousand families representing one hundred thousand Negroes.

And even though the Pullman Company is a great white organization, for whose employees The Messenger is demanding a higher wage and fuller opportunity to live, at the same time we view the effort to shake them down in the same light. We don't blame the Pullman Company for trying to make all the money it can. Neither do we expect any sensible employee of the Pullman Company not to fight to get as high wages as possible. But when The Messenger starts a fight for anything it doesn't do so because someone has paid it, and no money offer will stop them from prosecuting that fight. After all, the struggles, hardships and sacrifices which colored men and women in every walk of life have put forth to make life happier and easier, burdens lighter, and miseries less—to use them for the purpose of making money and then to sell them out to a great corporation for personal benefit would be a disgrace and treason conceivable only by the "Benedict Arnold Publishing company". It is amazing that *"ought-to-be-educated"* young men could stoop so low, could sink so deep in the mire, could wade so far in the sewer as to suggest such procedure.

It will be remembered that the *Chicago Whip* was for three weeks a staunch advocate of the Pullman porters' organizing. These articles may be found in the 1924 editions around the first of the year. Why did it change so suddenly? Why did it completely reverse itself? Was it because of the nine-inch "ads" on two columns given by the Pullman Company, written by one A. C. MacNeal and signed "Allied Economic Alliance?"

We can probably throw a little light on the situation. The Pullman Company did not want the porters to organize. Bibb and MacNeal knew it. So they started the above-mentioned series of articles, not with a view to doing any permanent work for the benefit of the Pullman porters, but with the deliberate intention to "shake down" the Pullman company. Here they were not mistaken. The Pullman company has as one of its attorneys Daniel J. Schuyler. This same corporation lawyer also represents the Samuel Insull interests. By the Insull interests we mean the Commonwealth Edison Company, The Peoples' Gas Co., and the Chicago Rapid Transit Co.—all of Chicago. The Pullman and the public utility companies recognize a common interest in keeping their employees from organizing. As a result, John Weldon, advertising manager of the Peoples' Gas Co.; Danny Howard, advertising manager of the Commonwealth Edison Co., and John Moran, advertising manager of the Chicago Rapid Transit Co.,—gave "ads" for their respective companies to *The Whip*. The gas company gave $48.00 a week, the Edison Company, $50 and the Rapid Transit Company $33. This was called sustaining advertising for *The Whip*. When these advertising managers were approached by other newspaper representatives regarding the above-mentioned "ads," these advertising managers stated that the only thing they knew about those "ads" was that no contracts were made by them as advertising managers in the regular way, but that the orders came from higher-ups. It was hinted that W. M. Lyttle, Chairman of the Bureau on Public Information, with offices in the Edison building, was the man who issued the orders to the different advertising heads to place their ads in *The Chicago Whip*.

Dan Schuyler and the Utility Companies

There is no greater menace among Negroes than that of money-bags wielded by white corporation lawyers. In some respects Dan Schuyler is the most notorious illustration of this menace. He and the utility interests are so interested in Negroes that they have a Boys' Club, and a political ward healers club in Chicago's black belt. But how many Negro employees has the Peoples' Gas Company of Chicago? How many has the Commonwealth Edison Company? How many does the Chicago Rapid Transit Company employ? And, pray, tell us what do they do? Can a Negro become a motorman or a conductor on the Chicago Rapid Transit system of railways? Can a colored girl be a stenographer or anything other than a scrub woman in the Commonwealth Edison Company? Can a Negro get near enough to the Peoples' Gas Company to do anything besides pay his bill, or read a meter?

On the whole, the answer to these questions is that Negroes have practically no chance in those companies, and where they have a chance at all, it is for the lowest and most menial parts of the work. In other words, Mr. Dan Schuyler says, "Negroes must get no wages or low wages." He therefore pays unscrupulous, irresponsible, treacherous and submarine Negroes, like Melvine Chisum, Joseph D. Bibb, A. C. MacNeal, and this ilk of "white-folks-good nigger" to try to disrupt, disorganize and discourage the best efforts of Negroes for that modern organization which has been the very foundation of Caucasian progress. The Negro is no longer concerned about having a few sleek and fat Negro leaders, while the masses grow thin and lean. If Dan Schuyler, the Pullman Company, the Commonwealth Edison and the Peoples' Gas are so interested in Negroes, they can show it by giving them work of all types in these utilities and then paying them something for that work. For after all, they are not

(*Concluded on page* 58)

The Theater

The Souls of Black Folks

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

When I tell the world the Theater has been the most effective of the disseminators of Negrophile propaganda working in America I ought to have a medal pinned on me for making an original discovery. It is more likely I shall be crowned with a brickbat—with the compliments of the Lambs Club. "Bosh! Piffle! Banana oil!" the more saintly friars will protest. Just the same what I have asserted is what the Lord loves.

If you think I am giving the Theater credit for any deliberate effort to put over the program of the N.A.A.C.P. let me say right now that is just what I mean everything else but. When the captains of the advancement movements, urban leagues and inter-racial relations committees charge that instead of being friendly the stage has been indifferent, hostile, abusive and grossly unjust to the Negro they are preaching gospel truth sure as you're born. What my fellow crusaders for the Dyer Bill fail to see, and what I do see clear enough, is if the Theater, inspired by the divine charity the Apostile Paul tells about in the good book, had been benevolently concerned about the Aframerican, sympathetic, indulgent and fair to him, it could not have been so efficient a propagandist in his behalf.

Except young Forest, the cabotins who first appeared on the American stage in blackface were gents of the go-getter type. They had observed that darkies cutting up monkeyshines on the big house veranda furnished first class divertisement for Massa Tom and his guests. Like the hard headed business man they were they figured it out that the skylarking that entertained the plantation nobles would also entertain the clerks and petty shop keepers of the cities and there ought to be money in it. Accordingly they learned to play the banjo and dance the buck and went about the country presenting a blackface caricature of Uncle Tom and his son that resembled the factual darky no more than I resemble George Brandes. When the Negro actor began to appear he soon found out that the way to get an engagement was not to be himself but to be Mr. Bones or Mr. Tambo. This sort of thing has been kept up fully three-quarters of a century, and the American public, having little or no experience with actual Negroes, has come to accept the caricature as authentic, with sociological consequences which would quite justify the Ku Klux Klan for burning every theater and lynching every actor in the country.

By persistently misrepresenting the Negro, sometimes because it didn't know any better and sometimes out of sheer malice, the Theater has almost effected the social emancipation which was needed to make his political emancipation complete. The stage is bringing about this second emancipation by diligently sowing the land with jokes, myths and imbecilities a composite of which presents Rastus as a grotesque, glamourous and extremely lovable half-wit. The result is that the normal attitude of the white American toward the dinge is one of personal compassion. If this appears to be incompatible with the hebdomadal lynchings which often take part, I reply that what we have here are merely bursts of crowd temper, step-ups from the fits of individual temper in which a normally kind and gentle person will box the village idiot's ears.

Now the average Sambo is a naturally observant and calculating fellow, and it did not take him long to discover how to turn the legend of imbecility to his advantage. For example, every sensible colored porter knows that if he cuts the pigeon-wing conspiciously about three times a week he will be retained on the pay roll in spite of his failure to polish the brash and his chronic neglect of the cuspidors. When the ebony bellhop substitutes the Bandannaland "Yas sah, boss," for simple "Yes, sir" an increased tip or a larger order for hooch follow with mathematical certainty. If a shine chauffeur wants to make himself solid with his boss, he has only to demonstrate his racial irresponsibility by deserting the family at a house party in Larchmont and bringing the car down in Harlem and smashing the radiator on a coal truck and the job is his for life. After that he can bully the boss at will, tyranize over his children, talk disparingly of his wife, even talk lewdly to her, and not only get away with it but have every exceptionally villianous bit of impudence rewarded with a piece of green money and an afternoon off, with the use of the sedan thrown in.

If you haven't caught on to the joke in this yet let me point it out to you. It is this: every night a class of privileged menials leaves the job fresh enough in mind and body to tackle either Schopenhauer or the latest Beal Street dance. This gives us the anomaly of a group with neither wealth nor leisure keeping in more intimate contact with the world's best thought and developing healthier bodies than any other class in the country except the very highest, and at the same time inundating the land with its dance rythyms, inspiring the only native music and speaking the President's English better than the President himself.

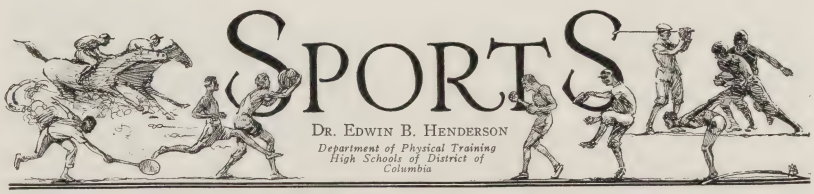
The joke gets real rich when we come to the case of Uncle Faithful, the faimly retainer. It is true that Uncle carries a rabbit foot on his key ring but that is only a minor valisman. The witchery that really prevents the perrenial shortage of napkins and bed linen from being investigated is the touching way Uncle caresses his kidney while complaining of the misery in his back. In the meantime, Aunt Chloe, his wife, keeps her end up to the tune of Swing Low Sweet Chariot. Nobody but Scrooge would think of checking up butchers' bills behind this pious soul, and when Aunt Chloe and her spouse reach middle life with a tidy parcel of real estate mortgage free, and their sons safely through Fisk, or perhaps Harvard, it is clearly a miracle of industry and thrift. But suppose some disgruntled grocer, angered by a withdrawal of trade, goes to Marse Harry and throws a sheaf of padded bills under his eye for inspection? Well, Marse Harry will probably have the tradesman.

So far I have not been talking about the mass attitude toward the shine but of how he has been treated by great multitudes of white Americans as individuals, and I have shown that this treatment has been astonishingly tolerant and indulgent. When we turn to the public attitude toward the dinge we do not see such a lovely picture, but before we go into that we must take a glance at another type of 8-ball. This fellow, a rascal and arapist, was the invention of the newspapers and everlastingly exploited by them in sensational crime stories. He was the inkspot the grandfather clauses, jim-crow cars and segregation laws were aimed at. While nobody ever thought of identifying him with Sam who worked in the drug store, it was taken for granted that every strange nigger was his brother against whose viciousness the public must protect itself with shotgun and curfew laws.

This makes it clear why, twenty years ago, a Negro traveling in a non-Pullman train would starve to death unless he could subsist on the news, butcher's milk chocolate and peanuts. The way-station restaurants would either refuse to serve him point blank or make him wait till all the white passengers were served, which meant he would miss his train. In order to get something solid to eat the colored passenger had to take his collar off and smudge his face and clothes with coal dust so he would look like he had been riding the rods instead of in the day coach. If this make-up was successful his appearance would remind the proprietor of the blackface clog dancer he saw at the Odeon last night, and he would send the wayfarer around to the back door and tell the scullion to hand him out a thick sandwich and some coffee in a tomato can.

I think the proceeding paragraph clinches my whole argument. The Aframerican has certainly had a hard time of it since his emancipation, but imagine, if you can,

(*Concluded on page* 59)



DR. EDWIN B. HENDERSON
Department of Physical Training
High Schools of District of
Columbia

At this writing it is not certain that Howard University and Lincoln will play the annual football game next Thanksgiving. The reasons are: Howard and Lincoln were members of the C. I. A. A. Howard objected to the limiting of playing years to four for those varsity team men in institutions of prep and college grade. A rule was adopted which Howard construed to make eligible a player of the previous year's Union team. Other members of the Collegiate Association objected. Howard withdrew from the C.I.A.A. The C.I.A.A. forbid its members playing Howard. Lincoln played Howard. Lincoln was fired. Now Lincoln had one of the most disastrous schedules due to lack of suitable opponents in nearby territory. Lincoln is being urged to re-enter the Association. Howard talks of a new and real Inter-Collegiate Association but the members of real collegiate grade with no prep athletes are like hen's teeth. If Lincoln goes back into the C.I.A.A., then Tuskeegee will be Lincoln's opponent next year in place of Howard, unless Howard and the C. I.A.A. folks arbitrate their differences.

The healthiest control over athletic yet devised has been through conference grouping of institutions. By combining schools of similar grade within convenient travelling limits many evils were curbed and educational advantages obtained. Here are some of the benefits: A serial championship is always more interesting than barnstorming. Uniform eligibility rules insure fairer sport. Uniform methods in financial matters, in admissions and official fees simplify management details and make for economy. Nearby games save travelling money and time for scholastic purposes. Periodical wrangling over rules, procedures and management become less as conference years lengthen. Yearly conferences between athletic and academic representatives have resulted in constructive educational results and better sportsmanship.

In education and religion we have followed the white man slowly and step by step, believing what he did when he did and disbelieving long after he discarded. By conference athletics we were in this field bridging a big gap in the trial and error methods of those whose games we play, and we were well on the road beside him and in some things a little ahead. Howard started into a collegiate association when her main teams were of prep and professional school players. There are yet some schools whose leading athletes are prep men,—particularly at Wilberforce, and at most other colleges. This is true of the Little "19" conference of the west and the Southern and South-Western conferences of our white brethren. The conditions and methods of the C.I.A.A.

CHARLES H. WILLIAMS,
Physical Director of Hampton Institute. He has done more to develop collegiate athletics than any other worker in this field

are indentical to those of many conferences of white schools. Even to the bar against Howard. Some years ago, Michigan was outlawed by Western conference teams for violation of rules and withdrawing from the conference, and later Michigan sought admission. Georgetown University, and several prominent universities found sledding hard in these days of associations and had to announce adoption of policies and rules universally accepted by most colleges to get the kind of schedule with teams she desired to play, and is yet not on playing terms with her former leading rival, the University of Virginia.

There is something else to be considered by our college men besides the mere victory over a leading rival in football. The C.I.A.A. with the aid of Howard and Hampton and Lincoln and Union had made it possible for several almost unheard of schools athletically, to get a place in the sun. St. Paul, Va. Normal, Lynchburg Theological Seminary and other schools sprang prominently before the public on many occasions. The glare and glamour attracted to scholastic halls many a backwoods boy and girl who would have been plowing and mating in the countryside untrained and in hum-drum living, but who now are being turned into high class more useful products of society. Howard nor Lincoln suffered by the growth of these schools but the youth of the race gained. The truth is there has been no greater agency in the development of one of the leading objectives of education today; to wit, the making of good American citizens. Athletics are being used as never before by the American people. Stadia are being erected costing millions. Many millions are being turned into recreative facilities. Shorter laboring days for laborer as well as professional man mean more recreation time. They must play or—they will begin to want to know too much about capitalistic government. A people that can be led to play and sing can be guided like little children and will think less about those whose money controls government. Every conference for athletic purpose means sacrifice of better chance for victory on the part of the larger, richer, more powerful colleges. Even in a combination of two or three schools a row of defeats brings grumblings. Harvard, Yale and Princeton make a big three but this year Harvard is for less football and less emphasis on athletics and more control of Yale and Dartmouth. No! Howard and Lincoln must in planning for their athletic pre-eminence be not unmindful of the tremendous racial importance their association with smaller colleges is. To add to the enrollment and popularity of attendance at the small Virginia schools is to increase also the opportunity for service at Howard or Lincoln.

We have had a Drew, a Gourdain and a Hubbard who could beat the world in the sprints and jumps. We have had others towering in other fields in their time and today we have a basketball team that has pulled down the world champions, the Celtics. We congratulate the boys of the Renaissance five for their splendid victory. There was a time when that New York Jew with all of his old world vitality and health practices was the demon on the basketball court, but get an eyeful of the color of the boys around the top in Chicago from year to year and the DeWitt Clinton high school championship five in New York City.

By the way did you notice how those dark skinned athletes in New York elementary Junior high school meet placed all through the finals recently. Remove segregation; and from 12,000,000 colored people there will come athletic champions to a far greater proportion than their numbers to the total populations. Either nearness to primitive stock or blending with more distant racial stock make for vitality and better neuro-muscular response to athletic stimuli. The mass-mind finally wins out in a civilization and this is a hero worshiping mentality. War and athletics make the songs, poems and art. The light of Greece died when strength and hardihood succumbed to luxury and culture of Athens. So with Rome and so with America.

Watch for "CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE NEGRO," a very interesting article by Harold E. Simmelkjaer, which will appear in the March number.

Mays Again

We were on the press when the startling telegrams about the resignation of Mays from the Brotherhood were read in the Negro papers. We held up the forms to say a word about the matter. We shall go more deeply into it in the next issue.

The question is being asked everywhere by everybody, why did he do it? Hasn't he attempted, at one time, to organize the porters himself? Hasn't he spoken in the meetings and professed interest in the success of the B. of S. C. P.?

What could be at the bottom of his sudden right-about-face?

Does he think he is benefiting the union? Hardly. Why was he in such a hurry to get his alleged resignation from the Brotherhood into the press? Where did he get the money from to send out so many telegrams? Everybody knows that Mays had no money before this movement began. Who would naturally pay for such propaganda against the movement as Mays is now carrying on, under the pretext that the union was mismanaged? Isn't it strange that May's action was timed to come just a few days before the Pullman Company's Wage Conference in Chicago?

Who would naturally want and pay Mays to attack the Brotherhood just before the Wage Conference? It is sad. It is pathetic. Mays is dead, and he is his own assassin.

Housing

The laws protecting tenants from the rapacity of landlords will terminate in a few weeks. Then the tenants will be defenseless. The landlords will be all-powerful again. Wholesale dispossesses will be enforced against those who are unwilling to be bled by exorbitant rents. In order to meet the situation something must be done and done quickly or else New York will experience a series of threatening rent strikes. Of course, the landlords are industriously demanding that the State cease intervening in their personal affairs. Public-spirited men, on the other hand, recognize the social peril which is involved should landlords have the unrestrained right and power to boost rents at will.

Governor Smith has suggested a feasible plan for building houses for the accommodation of people whose means will not permit them to pay more than $9 a room per month for rent. It is maintained by the real estate owners that the building boom has removed the war emergency which necessitated rent laws for the protection of the tenants. It is true that the widespread building resulted in a large supply of apartments for people, but they were not apartments for the working peoeple. They could only be reached by the rich and well-to-do. The working people are still ground down under the heavy burden of high rents. Among Negroes rents have not fallen at all. Landlords in Harlem are getting forty and fifty dollars for one-room apartments. While private houses and tenants of apartments have been compelled to reduce the price of rooms to roomers, the price of apartments and private houses have remained the same. The building of one-room apartments forced people who rented to roomers to reduce their rents because a roomer could get a one-room apartment for himself for forty-five or fifty dollars a month and be the boss of his room; whereas as a roomer in an apartment with other people, he pays the same price or more and is deprived of the freedom which the one-room apartment gives a man or woman. This situation operates to increase the burden of rent on the average family, because it is being deprived of the support which rent from roomers brings. We think that this situation is more peculiar to the Negroes of Harlem than to any other people. Hence it is to the interest of the Negro of New York that some plan, far-reaching in its scope and fundamental in its application, be adopted which will tend toward the amelioration of this crying social condition.

Congested housing among Negroes, arising from the necessity to convert their apartments or private houses into veritable hotels, is productive of shocking social maladjustments. The moral life of the home is menaced. A wholesome and free atmosphere for children is practically destroyed. Under it an ideal home life is impossible. Of course, the situation is not alone characteristic of the New York Negro. It is true of the Negro in all of the large cities, such as Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo. This is the outgrowth of the movement of the Negroes from the South, North, in large waves of migration. It cannot be met and solved with mere palliatives. It must be dealt with by a sure and understanding hand from a large social viewpoint. To this end Negro editors, preachers, lawyers, doctors, nurses, teachers and business men should work for the securing of fundamental social legislation which is calculated to remove the evil of congested housing and the ruthless and merciless exploitation of innocent and defenseless Negro tenants.

It is much more important that the housing situation among the masses of Negroes be improved than that the professional Negroes, however laudable, should become richer and more independent. It is to the interest of the professional Negro that the masses raise their standard of living. Because it is upon the masses of Negroes that the prosperity of the professional Negroes depend. Unless the housing situation is remedied, the social life of the Negro will decay.

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE AND PERRY W. HOWARD

Perry W. Howard is a member of the National Republican Committee. This fact has given him some influence. He has maliciously used it for personal gain and against the interest of his race; first, by opposing the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, espoused by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a bill which was calculated to make lynching a federal crime; second, in opposing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters whose object is to increase the pay of porters from $67.50 a month to a living wage, to secure better working conditions and better hours for the men.

He has not only used his prestige unwisely, secured by virtue of his connection with the National Republican Committee, but he has also traded upon the fact that he is the Negro Special Assistant to the United States Attorney General. This is a most anomulous situation. It is a violation of every cannon of ethics. In the nature of things it is impossible to serve two masters. Perry Howard cannot conscientiously perform his duties as a servant of the government, and at the same time, serve a private corporation, which is a possible litigant before the government. His duties, according to his own admission involve the handling of railroad cases, at the same time, he hires himself out to a railroad, the Pullman Company. Mr. Howard

has no more right to accept a salary from the government, the tax payers' money, for services he is supposed to render to the government, but which he is giving to the Pullman Company, for another salary, as an attorney to oppose the Pullman porters' union. than President Coolidge has.

It is a challenge to the National Republican Committee. If it is willing to stand by and permit one of its members to bring discredit upon the Republican Party and the present administration by allowing him to accept pay from the government for services he is not rendering, it is a party to the malfeasance of duty in office which Howard is committing. Technically, of course, the National Republican Committee has no responsibility for Mr. Howard's action, but actually it has, because of his connection with it. Nobody will gainsay the fact that one's relation with organizations brings either credit or discredit, honor or dishonor, influence or injures his influence. It is also true that the activities of one who is a part of a given organization will reflect credit or discredit upon that organization. Besides the general public feels that an individual has the sanction of his organization. If his activities are palpably unethical, the organization of which he is a part, is obligated either to repudiate him or to defend him, and accept the consequences of such a position. Such is the case with the National Republican Committee relative to Perry W. Howard. It is construed by the general Negro public that the National Republican Committee and the Coolidge Administration sanction the notorious and disgraceful attacks of Perry W. Howard upon twelve thousand Pullman porters, or nearly a hundred thousand Negroes, and consequently they feel sorely aggrieved against the National Republican Committee and the Coolidge Administration.

That this question is pertinent and material is evidenced by the fact that one of the high members of the Republican Committee, a white man, plead with us, while in Washington, D. C., not to continue our attacks on Mr. Howard, because of probability of the said attacks forcing the committee to eliminate him. It was contended by this gentleman that, from the point of view of the Negro race, it was advisable, according to his view, to keep Perry Howard on the Committee, because if he were removed it would be difficult to get another Negro there in his place, since there are always a large number of white people in the country who are interested in keeping Negroes out of responsible positions. In reply, we emphatically told the gentleman that we were not interested in having a Negro on the National Republican Committee merely because he was a Negro, that we rather have a white man there than to have a worthless, unscrupulous, Uncle Tom Negro there, that the thinking, independent Negroes today wanted a Negro selected for office upon a basis of merit and worth only. This caused him to redden and show visible signs of nervousness, and after fidgeting impatiently in his chair for a moment, and swallowing audibly, he admitted that this was the proper attitude. From the conversation of the gentleman there was nothing to show that he was motivated by any spirit of unfairness. It was obvious, however, that he had no idea of the character of the Negro he was facing. Undoubtedly he was accustomed to dealing with Negroes who are always looking for favors in the form of political jobs, and consequently he thought that by playing up the fact that Perry W. Howard might lose his job if we continued our attacks upon him, that that would appeal to us and soften our attitude toward him. But he was mistaken. He admitted that Perry Howard had come into his office and told him about his prospective trip to Chicago to become connected with the Pullman Company. But he said he had no idea that Perry Howard was serious about the thing. He said he thought that Perry Howard was perfectly stupid in doing such a thing. Doubtless, said he, Perry Howard construed his silence on the matter as his approval of his action. To this extent, he admitted that he was partly to blame, which shows that he feels that Perry W. Howard's action in holding two jobs, one with the government, and the other with a private corporation, is entirely unethical, and reflects discreditably upon the committee; else he would not consider his silence on Howard's announcement that he was going to connect himself with the Pullman Company, as carrying with it an element of blame. For one does not consider being responsible for a person doing something which is creditable in the sense of blame for that thing. But if it is discreditable and one is responsible for it, he is blamed or guilty for something which he feels is injurious to someone, and that he ought to do something to move that injury.

Despite his pleading that we let Perry Howard alone, that he can't be of any great injury to the movement, we assured him that we would do our utmost to force Perry Howard, both out of the United States Department of Justice and off the National Republican Committee. He reluctantly and apparently disappointedly, said that that was .our privilege, that whenever we made formal representations against Mr. Howard that they would be considered.

It was quite evident from the conference that Howard's case has been considered by the National Republican Committee. They are ready to throw Howard overboard if public sentiment seems to warrant it. But they think that perhaps it will be possible to avoid such action if they are able to induce us to let up on him. Of course we shall never let up on him . Howard must either get out of the government or the Pullman Company.

Wage Conference

The Pullman Company is calling a new Wage Conference. It will take place some time in January or February. It was called in order to head off the movement to organize the Pullman porters. It is the last card played by the Pullman company in order to destroy the spirit of organization among the men. After making futile and ineffective gestures with its sensational attempt to gag the Negro press, to muzzle the Negro leaders, to frighten the porters with the Filipino scare, to no avail, the Company finally resorts to the old trick of granting small wage increase in order to make the porters believe that the remedy for their grievances does not consist in a union of, by and for themselves, but in working through the Employee Representation Plan.

Of course, whatever is given the men in this wage conference is clearly the result of the program and agitation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The porters owe every penny they get, however few they may be, to the Brotherhood. A half century of exploitations of the Pullman porters by the Pullman Company is irrefutable proof that the porters cannot rely upon the sympathy and good will of the Company. They will get no substantial wage increas eor improve-

ment in their condition until they are thoroughly organized and are prepared intelligently to present their grievances to the Company iin particular or to such government agencies as are charged with the duty of handling their class of problems. This is no far fetched, airy, impractical, visionary scheme but a sane, sober, sound, practical plan of action, born out by the experiences of the workers over well nigh a century.

Even granting that the wage conference adopted an agreement between the management and the employees there is no assurance that that agreement would be observed and respected by the management. The porters already have an agreement with the Company and it is not observed. One of the most flagrant violations of that agreement is the hiring of Filipinos by the Company and putting them on club cars over the request of experienced and trained Negro Pullman porters who have given probably thirty of their best years in the service of the Company. According to the principle of seniority, club cars and preferential runs are to go to men of long and responsible service. But the Company brutally sweeps this principle aside, the very principle which it agreed to and pledged its word of honor to uphold, and still expects the Pullman porters to trust it to observe a new agreement. One must be very gullible and childish indeed to fall for this. Knowing that the men have no faith in this wage conference, the Company has employed threats, various forms of intimidations and misrepresentations in order to compel the men to vote for the conference. They want the porters to vote for the wage conference so that the spokesman of the Company can come before the country and say that this conference is the result of the collective desire of the porters throughout the country. They will cite this as an indication of the fact that the porters don't want any union. Of course the public does not know that the Company has threatened to hold men off their runs, to withold their pay checks, and that they are actually telling the men that they had better vote, in order to get an apparent general approval of the conference among the porters.

It is indeed gratifying to note that in every district there are bold spirits among the porters who flatly refuse to be bullied and intimidated by the Company. In a number of districts, reports come that fifty per cent of the men have refused to vote, that blank ballots are a common thing.

In order to assist the Company's desparate efforts to jam this wage conference down the throats of the men, it has brought up a number of men from the south and made them vote before they were two months in the service, a violation of their own Employee Representation Plan. According to the wide spread sentiment among the men against the conference, it is conservative to estimate that were they free to do as they choose, over ninety per cent of the men would refuse to vote for the conference. This the Company knows. Hence its unlawful tactics.

Chisum

Melvin J. Chisum is one of the most urbane, artful and coldly calculating Negroes we have ever met. He is unquestionably gifted with the ability to manipulate men. He has successfully fooled some of the biggest men in the country, white and colored. Being absolutely devoid of any scruples, he handles social and personal elements just as dispassionately as a chemist does elements in his laboratory. He would be eminently useful to the race if he were not imbued with sinister motives. He has the necessary sensationalism, a sort of a Ponzi business ethics, which equip him for selling his gold bricks at a lucrative return. His career has been varied, theatrical and questionable. Few people trust him and still his personaliy has a resistless charm. He is ever protesting his love for the race while at the same time, with his fertile and resourceful imagination, he is plotting various schemes that are palpably against the interest of large sections of his people and for his personal agrandizement. Melvin J. Chisum is not regarded by respectable men and women as a thoroughly desirable character, although, by virtue of his culture he is above the category of the cheap, crude gangster. When the name of Chisum is raised among people of integrity, they assume an attitude of indifferent disgust.

Perhaps his boldest and most astute stroke in pulling the wool over the eyes of men was the conference recently held in Washington, presumably to discuss political and economic questions and segregation, but actually to condemn the movement for organizing the Pullman porters and to glorify the Pullman Company. He inveigled into this notorious scheme such responsible and highly placed men in the public eye as Emmet J. Scott, Secretary-Treasurer of Howard University, John R. Hawkins, Financial Secretary of the A. M. E. Church, Dr. O. M. Dumas, A. L. Holsey, Secretary to Robert R. Moton, C. A. Franklin, Editor of the Kansas City Call, Scipio C. Jones of Arkansas, Benjamin J. Davis of the Atlanta Independent, J. A. Jackson, formerly of the Billboard, now of the Washington Tribune, and Rhenzi B. Lemus, President of the Brotherhood of Dining Car Employees, and large number of others. Be it said to the credit of Messrs. Jackson and Lemus that they came out and exposed the whole thing, indicating that the resolution adopted in the conference did not refer to either the Pullman Company or the porters' union and that the resolution broadcasted which condemned the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and endorsed the Pullman Company's Employee Representation Plan did not express the sentiment of the conference. This seems thoroughly to show that the majority of the men in the conference were wholly unaware of its purposes and aims. They did not show that their transportation, hotel bills and the sumptuous banquet given them were paid for with Pullman money, for Brother Chisum had very shrewdly and charmingly told them that it was his personal party, whatever that is. Of course, everybody knew that Chisum didn't have any money. Everybody knew of the thin thread upon which his living hangs, that he has no visible means of support and that all of his propositions are to be taken with a grain of salt. But still they wondered how in the world could this man command so much money with which to pay the railroad fare and hotel bills and provide the most lavish and elaborate entertainment for fifty men in Washington for several days. It is reported that man after man at the conference arose and asked for information as to why they were called there. To each question the suave Chisum replied that everybody has his way of enjoying life and that his way is to entertain his friends. Of course ,everybody wondered about one man entertaining his friends in such an expensive way. Because they knew that Brother Chisum, like the average Negro, has been only two jumps ahead of a horde of hungry creditors. They couldn't understand how he could so suddenly come into affluence. But they had accepted his hospitality, and consequently they were hesitant about pressing questions which apparent-

(*Concluded on page 60*)

Open Forum

A Voice for Supporter and Opponent

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Mr. Roy Lancaster, Secretary-Treasurer,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York City

My dear Mr. Lancaster:

I was very glad to learn from you that the effort to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is progressing. This is most encouraging after all the additional difficulties which you have had to face. I mean by that, difficulties in addition to the looked for apathy and hesitancy which you, of course, expected to encounter. These additional difficulties have been placed in your way by men professing to have the good of the porters at heart and who have fought on your front and in your rear every move you have taken. Opposition was expected, of course, from the Pullman Company itself and the interests allied with it, but it is despicable when it comes from colored men professing to be working in the interest of the Pullman car porters.

I hope that the men in the Pullman service will not be discouraged or deceived either by those who are advising caution, which amounts to cowardice, or by those who are attempting to stampede them by fear. Neither Mr. Perry Howard nor any other colored man not now in the Pullman service can determine what is best for the men in the service. They know what their work is and they know what they are entitled to; and they are the ones to determine what is best to do. Only a man ignorant of present day industrial conditions, or a hypocrite, could advise the Pullman porters that it is an unwise step for them to take to form themselves into a brotherhood. If it is good for railroad engineers, railroad conductors, railroad firemen, railroad brakemen and every other branch of railroad service to be organized into brotherhoods, why is it not good for the Pullman car porters, perhaps the hardest worked, and certainly the poorest paid employees connected with the railroads, to be so organized?

Certainly, the Pullman Car Company does not welcome it. Nor did the railroads welcome the formation of the other brotherhoods; but that is only another proof that the organization of a brotherhood is a good thing. In fact, in the end it would be a good thing for the Pullman Car Company itself, because it will increase both the self respect and the efficiency of the men employed.

I wish you success.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, Secretary.

General Organizer, Washington, D. C., Jan. 2, 1926.
Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
Editor The Messenger Magazine.

Dear Brother:

I must say you have shocked the whole world and caused the Nations to wonder and sit up and take notice at these mighty works that you are doing. I must say you are the greatest man in the Nation. You have organized a divided house which has been divided for four hundred years. It is indeed great. I know that you had many obstacles to go up against, but I pray each day and night for you to win the fight; and now you have fought a good fight and caused a Nation to shake hands in brotherhood which the white man has been trying to keep out of the heart of the black man. That heroic act has made you the greatest man among the Nations. You will get a great reward.

I enclose herewith the sum of $2.00 to you for the Messenger Magazine which is well written and will bring all the good news that is worth while.

Yours very truly,

A PORTER

OKOLONA INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL
(Incorporated)
For the Training of Colored Young Men and Women

Okolona, Miss.
New Haven, Conn., Dec. 9, 1926.

Mr. Roy Lancaster,
Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York City.

My dear Sir:

I noticed in yesterday morning's paper that President Coolidge is in Chicago to address a body of farmers who are already organized and are trying to organize more effectively for the interests of farm life. The papers are unanimous in the fact that President Coolidge is approving this movement and even urging co-operative marketing.

Why in the world, and why in common sense—common horse sense, should farmers organize for their welfare and poor sleeping car porters should not?

With very best wishes, I beg to remain,

Faithfully yours,
WALLACE A. BATTLE, President.

DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE AND FINANCE
Jersey City, N. J.
A Harry Moore, Director.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, December 18, 1925.
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I have your letter of the twelfth instant and should say, that I was always under the impression that the Pullman car porters were organized. In fact, I have been invited on numerous occasions to their social affairs. It is needless for me to dilate on the advantages of oganizing. It is the only method of protection which workingmen have. The familiar slogan, "In Union There is Strength" is just as true today as when the thirteen colonies awakened to the realization of it.

Very truly yours,

A. HARRY MOORE

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, The New York World.
2311 Seventh Ave., November 19, 1925.
New York City.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I am in entire sympathy with the movement of the Pullman Porters to organize, and wish the Brotherhood every success.

Sincerely,

HEYWOOD BROUN

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
Founded as Lincoln Institute 1866 by the 62nd and 65th United States Colored Infantry, Organized as the First Missouri Volunteers.

Mr. Roy Lancaster, Jefferson City, Mo.,
2311 Seventh Ave., November 23, 1925.
New York City.

My dear Lancaster:

Yours of the 19th instant was indeed a pleasant surprise for it brought back to me memories of Florida days.

I enjoyed reading your statement regarding the Movement about which I have been hearing considerable lately, both, pro and con, and I have been trying to come to an opinion.

I had a brief talk the other day with Randolph in St.

Louis, and have had some conversation also with the porters as I run across them on the train, especially with one the other day going into Washington.

The present drift of my thought is favorable to the Movement to which I plan to give more definite opinion regarding the same. I am not much concerned with the talk of Russian Reds as connected with our group in this country. I am in favor of the organization within our Negro workers just as other workers of the world are organized. Although I am not in much sympathy with the I.W.W.'s and those who are inclined to wage warfare against capitalism.

As soon as I come to a definite opinion regarding your Movement, I may send you word. I am now simply studying it with favorable inclinations. I should be glad to have you send me such literature as you may have from time to time.

Very truly yours,
N. B. YOUNG, President

132 West 12th Street,
New York, N. Y.
December 18, 1925.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York City.

My dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter regarding the good work that is being done in the organization of the Sleeping Car Porters. I am thoroughly convinced that these important workers should receive a living wage in accordance with the standard of respectable living in the United States, and that they should be relieved from the degrading necessity of accepting "tips" from the public in order to make up their wages. A prosperous corporation such as the Pullman Company should be able to pay those who help it earn its dividends without relying upon outsiders for assistance or employing the tactics of terrorism.

Yours very truly,
JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN

170 East 84th Street
January 15, 1926.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I am delighted to reply to your letter received this morning, requesting me to express my opinion on the movement to organize the sleeping car porters, so that they may lawfully work to raise their pay to a living wage.

It is with the greatest pleasure that I express my sympathy and encouragement to them. The sleeping car porters are one of the finest groups of men that I know of. Foreign visitors to our country invariably speak of their helpfulness and courtesy, and I hope that the movement to organize them in order to secure a satisfactory wage will prove successful.

Very truly yours,
AGNES LEACH.
Mrs. Henry G. Leach.

January 5, 1926
150 W. 131st St., New York City,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I regret inexpressibly I won't be able to attend the meeting called for Thursday evening, but just at this time I feel precaution must be observed, even though the desire to be among you and of you is very great. I become all enthused and my determination is to help in every way to achieve your one great endeavor—work and toil though it may mean. Under your leadership, which is adequate to so overwhelming a crisis in the economic affairs of 12,000 human beings—yea 60,000 and more, I should say I am glad to have the opportunity of touch and contact with you in so wonderful an effort.

The necessity for a moral purpose in great affairs and for an unswerving determination to achieve it were never expressed better than by Lincoln, the recalling of which invites me to say,—

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray that the mighty scourge that's upon the common people may soon pass away. If God wills it to continue until all the wealth piled up by the Capitalists' years of greed and enriched by the unrequited toil of the undermass of society shall have been destroyed by moths and worms of the earth, still we shall continue to fight—never losing courage but taking on freshened vigor—press on to the mark of **'our calling.'"**

May each man as well as each woman catch the spirit and work with untiring undaunted determination. I am with you whole heart, soul, and spirit. We must have it said that we, at least, as a race have made the Pullman Porter's job a better job in that **we** lived in it and (attempted to live) by it.

I am sincere when I say I am here to be commanded by you—to do as you would have me—standing willing and ready to obey. Please extend to "my" group (The Females) my heartiest greetings.

Yours for the success of the work,
N. B. DES VERNEY

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
General Organizer
Sleeping Car Porters,
2311 Seventh Avenue,
New York City.

United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.
January 18, 1926.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am in receipt of your letter of recent date and note what you say in regard to Perry W. Howard and shall be pleased to take up this matter with the proper officials and do what I can to assist.

Cordially yours,
ROYAL S. COPELAND.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
General Organizer,
Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York City.

Daytona, Florida,
December 2, 1925.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I have observed with genuine interest the progress of the movement to organize the Pullman Porters to contend for better wages and better working conditions.

Your program, I note is sane and fair, and that your organization is working towards a perfectly legitimate goal. I, therefore, give you my hearty personal endorsement and bid you Godspeed in your worthy efforts.

Please tell the men that they must not be dismayed by opposition. Let it rather spur them on to lawful, loyal, united action. That we may depend upon our men to be law-abiding citizens. I am sure ,and so I bid you go forward, remembering that "Righteousness exalteth a Nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

Yours for the right,
MARY McLEOD BETHUNE

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
127 East 23rd Street
New York City

January 14, 1926.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This letter is written to wish the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters every measure of success in their efforts to secure "more pay," better hours and better working conditions.

I know of the difficulties under which the porters have worked as I personally have had the experience myself.

Certainly the time is long past when men who work can be denied a voice and influence in determining the conditions under which they labor. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of course, is no exception in this regard. They have my entire sympathy and best wishes in their present struggle.

Sincerely yours
EUGENE KINCKLE JONES,
Executive Secretary.

198 Broadway,
New York City, N. Y.
December 4, 1925.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
General Organizer,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York.

Dear Randolph:

I received your letter of November 18th requesting me to send a letter to your organization expressing my attitude upon the efforts of the sleeping car porters to organize a union lawfully to fight for a living wage, better hours and improved working conditions.

I am heartily in sympathy with the purposes of your organization. I have believed for many years that the sleeping car porters and parlor car porters as well should be organized in a strong and effective union and I am glad to see that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has at last been established and that you are functioning as its general organizer. I hope that it will not be long before the sleeping car porters and the parlor car porters shall be organized as numerously and as effectively as are other railway employees.

With cordial greeting to you, I am

Fraternally yours,

S. JOHN BLOCK

RIGHT WORTHY GRAND COUNCIL
Independent Order of St. Luke
Richmond, Va., December 2, 1925.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York City.

My dear Sir:

I have your letter and I will follow it up with a letter to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

You have also asked our organization to write a letter expressing our attitude on the efforts of the men to organize a union lawfully to fight for a living wage, better hours and improved working conditions. We shall be glad to carry out your request to the letter.

Yours very truly,

MAGGIE L. WALKER, R.W.G., Sec.-Treas

218 West 139th Street,
New York, N. Y.
November 28th, 1925.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
General Organizer,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your recent communication regarding my attitude on the question as to whether or not the Porters working on Pullman Cars should be organized, I would state that I think it is only right that they should to protect themselves and their interests. Organization has proved a great boon to the working man in this country, and for such a large group of men as the Sleeping Car Porters not to avail themselves of the advantages that organization would bring them, would, in my opinion, be very foolish indeed.

Very truly yours,

LOUIS T. WRIGHT

DYETT, HALL & PATTERSON
Counsellors at Law
2303 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Dec. 2, 1925.
c/o A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Allow me to congratulate you and your colleagues on the formation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It seems quite aapparent to every public spirited Negro, that such an organization is most desirable for the protection of the men who render service of this kind in America. I regard it a sad commentary on the initiative of our Race, that those of us who are engaged in any kind of labor are unable to bind ourselves together and demand better working conditions and wages for ourselves. Certainly this has been needed for a long time in the case of the Pullmaan Porters. I am certainly at varlance with those of our Race, who are continually insisting that Unions of this kind are disastrous.

The effort that you are making, supplanting much talk done by others, should be regarded as a courageous step in the right direction. I wish the men every success; will be only too glad to serve in any way that I possibly can in the strengthening of this organization.

With best wishes, I remain,

Very truly yours,

GEORGE E. HALL.

1415 Corcoran St., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Randolph:

It is hardly necessary for me to say to you and the Pullman porters that I am heartily in favor of your movement and that you have my sympathy and my best wishes for your success.

Very cordially yours,

ARCHIBALD H. CRIMKE,
Former U. S. Minister to San Domingo, Author and Spingarn Medalist.

ARTHUR C. HOLDEN & ASSOCIATES
ARCHITECTS

ARTHUR C. HOLDEN — FRANKLIN WELLS
MAXWELL KIMBALL — LEONARD COX.

101 Park Ave., New York.
January 13, 1926.

A. Philip Randolph, Esq.
General Organizer,
Pullman & Sleeping Car Porters,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

In answer to yours of January 11th, I believe that the Pullman car porters should have been organized long ago. There is no reason for fear; there is every reason for concerted action.

The slogan of unionism should be the same as the slogan of the "Three Musketeers"—"All for one and one for all."

I send you a copy of a little paper which I did over a year ago with some corrections noted on it. It is possible that you might use it in the "Messenger". I tried to have it printed in a magazine like "The Nation" but had it returned. I think it is opportune at this time, and it might help the cause of organization because it points out something more than mere economic return as necessary for the work of all men. Please return the copy to me when you are through with it.

Very truly yours,

ARTHUR C. HOLDEN

Victor L. Berger,
5th District, Wisconsin.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.
December 22, 1925.

Mr. Roy Lancaster, Secretary-Treasurer.
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
2311 Seventh Ave.,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of the 10th inst. and also a copy of the resolutions adopted by the members of your organization urging an investigation of the activities of the Hon. Perry W. Howard, Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, who, it is stated, is serving the Pullman Company.

I should like to have, if that is available, the material upon which the charge is made. I am in favor of the trade union organization of the sleeping car porters, and do not wish to see their right to organize interfered with by an official of the Government. If the material you have is sufficient to warrant asking for an investigation, I will be glad to do so.

Thanking you for having written me about the matter, I am

Very sincerely yours,

VICTOR L. BERGER

The Neglected Truth

(*Continued from page* 49)

giving Negroes anything, because 150,000 colored men and women of this city are using all the public utilities. Negroes have thousands of telephones in their houses. They burn gas for cooking, heat and light. They use electricity for similar purposes. Thousands of colored people ride on the street cars and elevated railways every day. They produce the chief good which the Pullman Company sells—service. One need not be surprised, however, at the type of Negroes who do the dirty work for Dan Schuyler, when it is recalled that Benjamin Newmark, who was sent to jail for contempt of court because he refused to testify in the inquiry concerning jury bribery in the Gov. Small case—was also a *white* employee of Dan Schuyler.

Disparaging Reputable Men

In its campaign of slander, calumny and misrepresentation the WHIP'S livid lips of lies have seldom singled out the evil and the vicious. Their mark has been the most honorable and reputable men of the nation. Their attacks have been on such men as Dr. Emmett J. Scott, W. E. B. DuBois, Anthony Overton, Heman Perry, Robert S. Abbott, Edward H. Wright, Illinois Industrial Commissioner, Louis B. Anderson, Alderman and leader of the Chicago City Council, Major R. R. Jackson, also Alderman, Chicago, Jesse Binga, Oscar DePriest, father of colored elective representation in Chicago, and first Alderman of the "Windy City."

We do not mean to say that any man should be above fair and impartial criticism. Clean and wholesome criticism is desirable. It makes for civic improvement. But this small, dirty, muck-raking, scandal-scooping, 99 per cent lies and misrepresentation which *The Whip* indulges in, with a view to shaking these men down for graft, is contemptible, and disapproved by all persons who have the slighest sense of decency.

We do not know several of the men named. We have never met Alderman Anderson, Commissioner Edward H. Wright, and numbers of the worth while men who have been grossly misrepresented, libeled and slandered by Joseph Bibb and *The Whip*. But of all men who should steer clear of speaking slightly of anybody *The Whip's* publishers are foremost. Why? Well, we believe it was Emerson who once said, *"How can I hear what you say, when what you are is continually thundering in my ears?"* (Shakespeare also succinctly put it, *"What you are speaks so loud, I cannot hear what you say."*)

We have referred so generally to the publishers and editors of *The Whip* that someone may think we are including everybody there. We want to make an exception. At no stage of this investigation has anything derogatory to Patrick Prescott been discovered. We have not found him mixed up in graft, blackmail and shakedowns, as numerous as they are. Then, too, there are other fine young men who do some work for *The Whip*. Some of them are so fine that the only bad thing about them is their connection with *The Whip*. Likewise, some of the publishers of *The Whip* are so bad that the only good thing about them is their association with decent fellows, like Prescott, who serve as a window dressing.

Whip Knocks

A man must be careful about his friends. It is better to have the opposition of some men. Their support *only* can injure you. This is especially true of *The Whip*. To be praised by Joe Bibb is *prima facie* evidence that one has paid for the lauding, or been blackmailed. To be denounced by this journalistic shyster is, most likely evidence of genuine character which would not yield to the Iago of the Negro press. *A Whip* knock is a boost, just as a Bibb boost is usually a K. O. to character and sterling reputation.

We would not close without pointing out what a splendid opportunity has been thrown away by this conscienceless, unprincipled group of young men. Many came to their rescue when they started. As many have found that Bibb and MacNeal were about the most ungrateful "cusses" they ever met. Today, no one any longer respects *The Whip* or its editors. Few decent people even read this compendium of crime.

In the first place, a self respecting colored man or woman—is afraid to be seen with the WHIP on a street car or bus. He knows the moment any person glimpses the head lines, done up in watermelon red, he will say, "That must be a *darky* paper."

Moreover, there is really no depth to the editor of *The Whip*. No reputable student or recognized scholar has ever charged Bibb with having ability. Not a paragraph in his editorials ever shows depth. He is superficial and shallow. He is s chool-boyish and simple, in the sense of being idiotic. He vacillates and shifts with every *current* of *currency*. He has no fixed principles which are not subject to *quick change*, if *quick change*, or *principal* is offered. He has *idols* but no *ideals*. He worships the dollar for which he would betray anybody. His gymnastics are double-crossing. He may have a few misguided friends, but it is certain that *he* is a *friend to no man*. His creed is a crooked screed. He has been through many educational institutions, but has been uninfluenced for good by what those institutions offered. He is the worst example of a Negro's using a newspaper for unlawful purposes in the United States. His life as an editor has brought the hectic flush of shame to the cheek of all his readers who have the slightest regard for decency—for purity and rightness of principle.

The intelligent and thinking people of Chicago have his number. They have stopped reading the paper, which probably explains the fact that *The Whip* circulation for 1925 reached a *new low* at 3,500. Chicago's colored citizens took a close-up on Bibb and found what was best expressed by D. Webster Davis, in saying, *"He looked like a lion, he wa'nt nothing but a dog."*

What is the standing of the CHICAGO WHIP? Who owns it? Why are its Negro editors and publishers permitted to roam at large? What influences are at work to permit them to black-guard, disparage and calumniate the finest and most worthwhile characters in the race? These questions along with others much more startling and far-reaching will be answered by Mr. Owen in the March MESSENGER. No bluffs, threats, or suits can hold back the veritable avalanche of matter which has been painstakingly collected, carefully verified and assorted and approved by some of America's most distinguished and nationally noted lawyers of both races in Chicago and New York.

The author is also grateful for the assistance of a large number of the most reputable professional men, business men and laymen of both races who have given of their time and effort to help clean up the city of Chicago. Some have permitted their names to be used outright; others have requested no use of their names but have given affidavits in support of their allegations; while others have asked that their names be withheld temporarily, yet may be used if found necessary.

Announcement.

The Editors of THE MESSENGER take pleasure in announcing that beginning in our next issue an especial effort will be made to print first rate short stories, verse, and other literary features.

GEO. M. PORTER
RELIABLE DRUGGIST
3510 South State St. **CHICAGO**
Telephone Victory 4788

The Critics

(*Continued from page* 44)

"Misconceptions about the South."

(1) "The South did not want slavery then, does not want it now, and never will want it again, for it realizes that the presence of the Negro has retarded its economic development.

"The Negro had a useful and definite place in the South's economic system prior to 1860."

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(2) "The Negro problem has been due to their ignorance and economic weakness; to their concentration in certain narrow districts in the South; to their dependence upon credit advances; to their inability readily to take up diversified farming; to their inherent ability to become skilled artisans; and in large part to their own economic inertia and shiftlessness."

---

(3) "The North alone now has a Negro problem for the South has largely solved it. Despite the common conception derived from newspapers, the Negro's life and all of his rights are better protected, he is treated more humanly, gets better justice, is discriminated against less, and his welfare looked after better in the South, than in any other section of the country."

Prof. Garis' views are so naive and deliciously Southern, in the main, that were it not that they appear in a journal of weighty opinion, I should pass them without comment. For instance, in (1) we find two contradictory statements side by side. "The South," he says, "did not want slavery," and then: "The Negro had a useful and definite place in the South's economic system prior to 1860."

It seems an utter waste of words to point out at this day that it was precisely because the South recognized the latter fact that it wanted slavery and fought to perpetuate it."

No, 2 while generally erroneous, nevertheless has a few sound truths that so-called Negroes, particularly those who favor segregation, might well heed.

The term "Negro problem," is wrong. There is no such thing. For instance, in France, where the whites recognize work, regardless of color, a so-called Negro would meet only the same problem as the white—the economic one. In America, however, that same Negro would find an additional problem in the attitude of the white man toward him. The problem, then, lies in the psychology of the white man—the problem of how to recognize others not of his complexion as human beings, deserving of ordinary politeness.

It is a Caucasian problem, not a Negro one. Nevertheless, one hears our leading "Negro" thinkers make frequent use of the latter.

"The North alone now has a Negro problem for the South has largely solved its."

Correct. Freedom is like sea-water: the more one has of it, the thirstier he gets.

One fact about this Caucasian problem: it is so highly atavistic, hoary, discredited, antebellum, arguments will re-appear in what ought to be journals of modern opinion.

The Theatre

(*Continued from page* 50)

what a hell he would have lived in if the bitter feeling against him, stirred up by the criminal newspaper nigger, had not been ameliorated by the liver-lipped end man with his spirituals, clogs and pork-chop jokes. But the best part of the story has not been told. When B. F. Kieth (God rest his splendid soul;) made the vaudeville theater a mass institution and flooded the country with Mammy songs he unconsciously ushered in an era of good feeling toward the Negro. With millions of shoe clerks, stenographers and die chippers whistling "Bill Bailey Won't You Please Come Home?" and later on "Waiting For The Robert E. Lee," while visualizing swarms of picturesque pickaninnies dancing in the moonlight, it was useless for the newspapers to go on playing up Johnson as the Antichrist. Public sentiment, considered now as mass feeling, had definitely turned favorable to Young Black Joe.

Here, perhaps, I had better pause and reassure the reader of my seriousness. When I point to a phenomenon anybody can observe in any public or qusa-public institution, from a branch library to a Sixth Avenue cafeteria, and in the same breath claim the distinction of making an original discovery, it is quite likely I shall be charged with indulging in a sally of facetious bragging. I certainly cannot complain about that, for it seems incredible that so conspicuous an institution as the Theater could have effected such a profound change in national sentiment without attracting the notice of the official watchman on the wall. The answer is that while the change itself has been duly noted and recorded not one of the licensed seers has ever suspected the stage of having a hand in bringing it about. When they attempt to account for it they ignore its chronological development, and give all the credit to some vociferous propaganda organization, the Chicago riot or the revival of the old time religion. I now turn from analysis to vaticination.

Though jailed for his pains, he will contemplate prosecuting Uncle Faithful and Aunt Chloe at law no more than he would contemplate prosecuting a magpie for pilfering a skein of silk.

Even when a Negro has associated with white folks on a plane of equality, and it is neither possible nor necessary for the black to humbug the whites by acting up to the full length caricature of himself, he can obtain certain privileges and immunities by affecting just one or two of the idiosyncrasies of a Primrose minstrel. For instance there is the razor toting legend. It is true that this legend has caused hundreds of darkies to be unnecessarily lynched by the police, but on the other hand thousands of shrewd Aframericans have turned it handsomely to account. I offer a bit of my own experience as evidence.

Like a majority of men whose beards began to sprout just as the safety razor was coming into its own, I never learned to use a straight razor for shaving; and not being much of a mixer I have never required one for social purposes. Still, whenever I sit in a poker game with a group of white men and my luck is going bad, I can easily turn the tide by alluding to my ability to wield a wicked blade. From then on the pick of the smokes and the top of the liquor are mine and I can grab the heaviest jackpots at will. If I draw to a pair and buck on o'fay gent who has raised on a pat hand the kitty is at once conceded to me as a tribute to my ethnic inability to take the game seriously enough to learn its primary principles. Lordy yes! Money obtained that way is quite spendable.

No formidable reaction will set in within half a century. To explain why is to intricate a matter to go into here, but you can see for yourself that, with the black and tan cabarets reinforcing the Orphean Circuit and the Atlantic Monthly joining the Saturday Evening Post in press agenting Florian Slappy, the idea that the Negro, whether disguised as a Pullman porter or a chiropractor, is at heart an incorrigible and glamourous vagabond is going to push its roots still deeper in the mass mind. Which means that the African—don't laugh, **please**—who is quite as sensible as the average chink or Swede, will find it easy to kid and bully his way to a higher plane in the American Commonwealth than the one he now occupies.

Some sunny day Big Boy will jolly his boss into sending him on the road with a sample case. . . . Well, to make a long prophecy short—imagine Flournoy Miller shuffling into your office tomorrow morning and announcing that, as a side line to the Runnin' Wild business, he was selling lingeries, debentures, hardware or whatever it is you deal in; offering you a good buy and at the same time regaling you with an exhibition of buffoonery that literally knocked your secretary from amazing grace to a floating opportunity. Would you give him an order? Or would you reserve it for a Jewish gent, representing Lazarus & Co., with his hackneyed talking points and selling arguments? When you answer this question let your conscience be your guide.

Live agents wanted to sell the Messenger—the most talked of Negro publication in America. Send for particulars.

Relic of Slavery or Tragedy of Segregation

(*Continued from page* 43)

The exigies of the case demands that the position of Negro labor he stated by those who by training, by sympathy and by virtue of their record in the workers cause, can be depended upon not to misrepresent the true interest of the Negro.

The Negroes best interest now demands that he join his labor organizations whenever and wherever possible and utilize the present opportunity to intrench himself deeper in the organized labor movement where, shoulder to shoulder with white workers, he may battle for a better living for himself and those dependent upon him for the means of life. That he is doing this, is evidenced by the frantic efforts of his so-called "leaders" to advise him not to do so, but to hold on to the relic of slavery and stand in good with "massa." "Sufficient unto today is the industrial wisdom thereof? The Negro would rather think of the ills he has than fly to those he knows not of." The wisdom of this advice and the psychology behind it is too obvious to need much comment here, except to say that, it is a relic of slavery. That such an advice can be given by a Negro "leader" today and accepted by many white and black as the voice of the Negro worker is indeed a tragedy of segregation.

Editorials

(*Continued from page* 52)

ly were embarrassing to their apparent host. We say apparent advisedly because the real host was the Pullman Company which had supplied the money. Chisum's function consisted in getting respectable and quasi-respectable Negro leaders into the conference in order to give it the appearance of something unusually important so that the Pullman Company could say to the public, see, the responsible Negro leaders are opposed to this movement for organizing the Pullman porters. It was assumed by the promoters of this conference that if they get fifty leading Negroes together in the capitol under the guise of condemning segregation and seeking economic and political benefits for the race, and that in that very same conference a resolution was adopted condemning the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, that the porters would feel that they had better let the union alone and that the general public would turn against the organization. But when it was shown that the condemnation of segregation, the visit to President Coolidge, was only fly paper calculated to mislead the innocent public, that the N. A. A. C. P. was not invited to the conference despite the fact that it has made the only consistent and effective fight against segregation in the country, and that they were not invited because they had officially endorsed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the eyes of the people were opened, they saw the corruption of the conference and they became suspicious and distrustful. Now the more respectable members in the conference are doing their utmost to establish their innocence, to show that they didn't know what it was all about, that they had no special opposition to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, that they knew nothing about resolutions sent out by the Associated Negro Press blessing the Pullman Company and damning the Pullman Porters' Union.

This scheme was masterly conceived by Chisum. Bishop A. J. Carey and Perry W. Howard, his assistants were his handy men. Every man at that conference is obligated to come out before the public and condemn the whole thing as a collossal imposture and free themselves from the taint of the dirty deed. Chisum stock was pretty low before this conference was pulled off. Now it has hit the zero mark. He will ever be persona non grata in the councils of decent and honorable men and women.

Pullman Company's Stock Trick

Unable to halt the progress of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters through any other means, the Pullman Company is now playing the stock trick card. By selling stock to the porters it is assumed that it will bind them more tightly to the Company, that it will impress them with the idea that they are a part of the Company, and hence should be interested in keeping down the cost of production in as much as dividends are high when the cost of production is low, and dividends are low, when the cost of production is high. Now since the element of wages is one of the main factors in the cost of production, if the Company can get the men to fall for the stock scheme, it will be able to say to them, why, it's to your interest not to organize and insist upon getting more wages, because then you will be automatically reducing your share in dividends, as a stockholder.

The Company has so planned the issuance of the stock to the porters that it is impossible for them, granting that all of them bought stock, to exercise any control over the policy of the corporation. All of the porters combined would not have the power to change the condition of their work one iota as a result of their being a so-called part of the Company, upon a basis of the stock they own.

Again it is quite obvious that the Company does not plan for the men to get any influence through the holding of stock, by the fact that it will only sell one man one share for every five hundred dollars he earns in salary, yearly. Now the average porter, on a salary of $67.50 a month, earns only $810.00 a year. Hence he can buy only one share of stock. We know of no porters who could buy more. The Company realizing the inability of the porters, by virtue of their low wages, to spend much money for stock, permits them to pay three dollars out of their pay check every pay day for forty-one weeks. In fact, they insist upon this method of paying for the stock, even with porters who want to pay the full amount of their stock, at one time. Mr. W. H. DesVerney, thirty-seven years in the service, and one of the founders of the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association, asserts that this organization once requested the privilege to buy a hundred thousand dollars worth of stock; but was refused. This is significant. Because it shows that the Company does not propose allowing the porters to get hold of enough stock to do them any good. Of course Pullman stock is good because the increase productive efficiency of the Pullman porters makes it good. The porters can hope for no solution of their problems through the purchasing of stocks in the Pullman Company. Their most profitable investment consists in becoming members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Pullman Company can pay them probably as high as 8 per cent dividends on the dollar. But the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will pay the porter over one hundred per cent on every dollar he invests in it. The membership and dues of a porter for a year total $17.00 only. Granting that he contributed $13.00 to the organization for the promotion of the organization campaign, he would only give in all $30.00. Now if the Brotherhood were able to get an increase in wages of only five dollars a month it would secure for each porter $60.00 a year. Of course this is a minimum increase.

Truth About Pullman Porters

(*Continued from page* 38)

with which to obtain food or wire his superintendent. He was hungry, his car was cold, and he felt miserable. The rule says he must remain with his car, but starvation forced him to desert it, hence he took the first dead-head train back to his district and reported the condition under which he was made to suffer. The assistant superintendent was indifferent. He took undue advantage of his official capacity to assail him unnecessarily in very hard terms. The porter was not able to defend himself in a diplomatic way. The effort was to make him bow his head, and usually the porter does.

Finally the porter was forced to accept a penalty which must be acknowledged by his own signature. Thirty days suspension was the verdict, and this penalty appears against his records, for the rest of his term of service. He refused and asks permission to see the superintendent or local supervisory officer. The assistant superintendent hastened to the office of the superintendent and presented his side of the dispute. The porter was then called in only to find the superintendent was inclined to uphold the action of his assistant. He explained his case to no avail.

The superintendent recommended his dismissal or suggested that he resign from the service. In the latter case he refused and was told he could not go out on the road. Under the Plan of Employee Representation, he has the right to take the matter before his committee on grievances. But the local officials felt that he had no grievance. They blocked his efforts to adjust his case by means of delay. He went repeatedly to the office only to find it hard to interview them. Weeks passed and he was out of work.

Finally he got a hearing and was permitted to take his case to the Committee of Grievances. He discovered that the same official who was in the first part of the dispute was also a member of the committee. With him were four others, as against an equal number of porter representatives. The result was dismissal from the service.

Such is the way the Employee Representation Plan functions.

RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

14. That the porters be not subjected to threats, intimidations and reprisals because of their membership in a labor union.

(a) The Company has fired porters because of activities in the interest of the union. It has compelled porters to vote for the Company union by threatening to withhold their pay checks or to withhold giving them their sign-out slip, that is, hold them off their runs. It has put inexperienced and untrained Filipinos on the club cars in order to frighten the porters away from their union. This is in violation of the seniority rule which the Company pledged to uphold in the agreement with the porters in the last wage conference, 1923. A club car is considered preferential service and supposed to go only to men of long service, efficiency and responsibility. But the Company overrode this rule and placed Filipinos on the club cars over the protest and request of Negro porters who have given probably thirty of their best years in the service.

(b) Under the Transportation Act, enacted by Congress in 1920, any group of workers on the railroads were invested with a right to organize and present their grivances to the Railroad Labor Board, machinery was set up under the said act to handle the workers' grievances. Thus the Pullman Company is violating a Federal statute in opposing the men to organize.

(c) In the Employee Representation Plan of the Company, a clause specifically states that the Company will not discriminate against a porter or maid because of his or her membership in a fraternal society or union. This is Article 6 and Section F. Still it has done everything to prevent the men from organizing from hiring Filipinos to hiring Mr. Perry W. Howard, Negro Special Assistant to the United States Attorney General.

This is how the Company Union, known as the Employee Representation Plan, works:

A. L. TOTTEN IS DISCHARGED

The dismissal of Mr. A. L. Totten from the Pullman service as a porter is the latest evidence on the part of the Pullman Company to deal unfair with its employees.

Mr. Totten was an active and able worker on the Employee Representative Plan, and a national character among Pullman porters. He was the only member of the Committee in the New York district who sought to make the plan function. His sole ambition was to win at least one case for the porters, which would give them faith in the plan.

Wholy because of his determination to seek justice for the men, who always voted for him to represent them on the committee, he was despised by the management and singled out as a dangerous character. The true story which comes from Mr. Totten himself is as follows:

"On the morning of October 1st a porter was dismissed from the service, and feeling that he was unjustly treated, placed his case in my hands, asking that he be given a hearing before our committee on grievances, which is under the plan of employee representation. I asked him to explain his side of the case, and felt that if all he said was true he should be given the privilege of a fair opportunity to defend himself.

I discovered from the outset an inclination on the part of the chairman of the committee to accuse the porter of being under the influence of whiskey when he applied for his grievance blank, a condition that did not exist at the time. This action on his part stimulated me with great interest to seek justice for the porter, who has just been married and the father of a baby a few weeks old.

I have never felt satisfied with the mode of procedure in these committee meetings, because whenever a case is brought before that body there is always an attempt on the part of the management to withhold the facts and deny the representatives of the defendant a fair chance to make a thorough investigation of the changes preferred.

When on the morning of Oct. 15th the committee met I was astonished to learn that the porter was dismissed on the charge of being boisterous at the Pullman porters' House in Chicago and for annoying the older men with his solicitations.

By reason of the fact that the charge as presented was rather weak and without any explanation as to what was meant by the term solicitations I took the attitude that the committee could not vote intelligently on it until we had investigated the custodian at the Porters' House, who should have knowledge of the matter.

According to the custom, the management moved for the executive session and requested that the porter should leave the room and attempted to discredit him in his absence.

They showed his record card with four minor derelictions and based their contentions on the ground that his services were unsatisfactory. I found that some passenger whose name and address are unknown to the committee had written him up for unsatisfactory service.

The management insists that complaints from passengers be charged up as bad records against porters in absence of solid concrete facts. Another passenger wrote him up for being asleep for half an hour in the afternoon between 4 P. M. and 5 P. M. at a time when there were no beds available for passengers or anyone else for that matter.

He was also charged for smoking on duty, despite the fact that Pullman conductors and service inspectors steal their smoke when on duty. An inspector riding on his car reported that he had seen him wipe the hand rails with a pillow slip.

In defense of the last charge I learned from the porter that he discovered the pillow slip tucked away in his stepping box and that it had been previously used for that

purpose. He admitted, however, that he used the precious rag for the accommodation of a lady passenger who wore white kid gloves at the time.

I found no loss record, no insubordination, that he was moral and honest, and I determined to defend the porter on what I believed to be a good case. After a lengthy discussion the management yielded to the opinion of the porter representatives that the case be deferred for another meeting, subject to the call of the chairman, and the secretary communicate with the supervisor at Chicago, asking for detailed report of the porter's conduct at the Pullman Porters' Home.

As a committeeman I have the right to delve into the facts contained in the charged preferred against the porters, and therefore intimated at the time that I would go to Chicago and interview the custodian of the Porters' Home.

Incidentally there were some other matters in connection with the rules governing this plan which I desired to take up with the supervisor and be benefited by his opinion. I desired to carry out this mission without the knowledge of the local officials whom I know had good reasons to hinder me.

So on Monday, Oct. 19th, I wrote a letter of request to work a car to Chicago, leaving New York on Friday, the 23rd, and it was granted me by their Assistant Superintendent at the yards. Immediately on arrival at Chicago on the afternoon of the following day two men grabbed me at the station and demanded that I take a train leaving immediately for New York.

I had worked twenty-three hours on the road and was without proper rest. To return immediately meant further loss of sleep and no opportunity to get a good meal. Besides, I had come here on a mission which was a matter of concern to the management if there is any honesty of purpose in their employee representation plan. I argued that I was a representative of the plan, and I had the legal right under its ruling to stay and carry out my mission, and therefore questioned the authority of anyone who would thus try to bully me.

After the train had backed up to the yards, they attempted to use force to make me return to New York, denying me even a chance to get a cup of coffee. It was then that I decided to remain on solid ground in the capacity of a representative of the plan of employee representative and not as a porter.

After I had interviewed the persons whom I came to see and obtained the necessary information, I reported for duty, and was handed discharge papers for unsatisfactory service."

(*Signed*) A. L. TOTTEN.

ORGANIZATION

1. There are twelve thousand porters in the service.

2. According to the rules of the United States Labor Board, an organization is required to have 51 per cent of the employees of a certain class of service in order to have a right to represent them.

3. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters now has branches in Washington, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Omaha, Neb.

WAGE CONFERENCE

4. As a result of the progress of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters the Pullman Company has called a wage conference to take place some time in January, obviously for the purpose of heading off the porters' union. This conference doubtlessly will grant a small wage increase to the porters in order to get them satisfied. But the spirit of the men is so high that it will have no great effect upon them, since they realize that the Brotherhood has compelled the Company to call this conference.

The Brotherhood is not backed by Moscow. It has no connection with communists.

The claim that it is is pure Pullman propaganda.

MORAL SUPPORT

1. The Brotherhood is being morally supported by the American Federation of Labor and the Big Four Brotherhoods.

2. It has been officially endorsed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

3. The Civic Club, in a public meeting held to get the facts about the movement to organize the Pullman Porters, endorsed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

OTHER ITEMS

The Brotherhood does not counsel insubordination but efficient discipline. It does not propose to injure the Pullman Company but to help it. The union is conservatively managed and directed so as to make it an efficient and constructive agency in cooperation with the Company for the general improvement of the service on the cars and the development of a high, upstanding, responsible type of porter.

Letters of Davy Carr

(*Continued from page* 40)

feel a little better, I'll tell you something she said. When the music stopped, I said to your dear friend:

"Tommie, that was an absolutely perfect dance, don'e you think so?" And what do you think she said? I won't make you wait longer. She said:

"It was almost perfect, Davy. There's only one person in the world with whom it would have been as enjoyable, and that is our soldier boy. I wish he were here. I miss him a whole lot."

Now I know you'll be glad you waded patiently through all of my puzzles and perplexities to reach this point. It was worth it, don't you think so?

Well, I took Don's advice, or perhaps I should say better, I followed his order, and cultivated Billie Riddick, and I was perfectly amazed to see how she responded. If you had seen us, you would have thought we were sweethearts of long standing. For a few minutes I was tempted to think that it was I she liked, so cordial was she, and so eagerly did she meet me half way, but soon something set my mind at rest as to that. But everything in its own time.

I had a very lively evening, and the air was electric with flashing cross currents. Indeed, I was quite overwhelmed to find how interesting this merely momentary cultivation of Miss Billie seemed to be to a number of people. You can guess who they were, so I need not mention them. There was not a moment when we seemed free from some kind of surveillance. Stimulated by this interest, I threw myself into the game with zest, and the evening, which had begun rather unpleasantly, was not half bad after all. Miss Riddick and I furnished the climax of the evening by actually sitting out one dance in the balcony, while she opened her heart to me about Dr. King. It is curious how love seems to transform some people. When she is talking of him she seems an entirely different person from the hard, sophisticated young woman to whom I was first introduced by Morris Jeffreys so many weeks ago.

I got one interesting point at least from this interview. She does not believe that Caroline cares very deeply for the doctor. While we were sitting up on the balcony with our heads together I was conscious of many inquiring glances directed our way. Don Verney, especially, seemed to get a lot of fun out of the situation, and smiled widely at us each time he passed within eyeshot, dancing with Lillian Barton. I discovered in talking with Billie that she was going next Friday night to the Merry Coterie's card party, to which I had been invited also. It's another one of those affairs where the men come in about ten-thirty, when the games are over. So, still following Don's lead, I asked Billie if I might not take care of her for that evening. Her eyes flashed visibly as I voiced my invitation. She said Scott Green had asked her, but she had not given hi man answer, so t ahtshe could fix it all right. I might consider the matter settled. I was to call for her

just before eight to take her to the card party, which began early, and then I was to come back at ten-thirty.

When we were putting on our wraps at the entrance to the coatroom, Billie and Scott Green came up to where Caroline, Tommie, the doctor and I were standing, and bade us goodnight most cordially and effusively, leaving me for the last.

"Au revoir, Mr. Carr," she said, "don't forget it's a quarter to eight." And with one of her dazzling smiles, she slipped her arm through Scott Green's and left us with a flourish. As I struggled into my overcoat I stole a look at the others. As Dr. King's back was turned to me, I was deprived of the possibility of seeing his reaction to Billie's remarks, but Tommie's brow was drawn into deep thought wrinkles, and Caroline stood open-mouthed. As they, by one impulse, turned to look at me, I made a point, in my effort to get into my coat, to turn my back on them.

It was a silent party in Dr. King's car, though the thoughts were almost vocal. Just before we drew up at the Rhodes' house, however, Caroline broke the silence. Smothering a yawn with her hand, she turned to Tommie, and in the coolest, most matter-of-fact tone in the world, she said:

"Did you notice how old Billie Riddick is looking? She really ought to stop going so much."

What Tommie would have answered, I really cannot guess, for at that moment the car stopped in front of the house, and Dr. King swung the door open.

When I was at Tommie's last night for a few minutes I saw the new photo. It is a good one, there is no doubt of that. I told Tommie that I thought she had enough pictures of you, but she answered that she wanted one in civilian attire, for all she had were taken in uniform. I suppose if she expressed a desire for the moon you would rush and try to get it. Buddie, I fear your days of freedom are over, for this time you have swallowed hook, line and sinker, and there is little or no use in trying to wriggle, even. Tell Sallie Cole that I say she is wasting her valuable time being nice to you. You are what my old nurse used to call "a gone goose." But no doubt you endure your hopeless state with remarkable serenity.

Davy.

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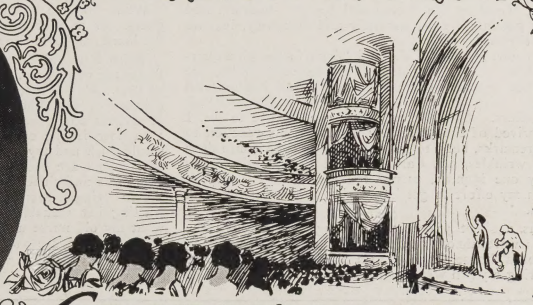

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